

HISTORICAL ESSAYS

U P O N

P A R I S.

Translated from the FRENCH

O F

MR. DE SAINTFOIX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed for G. BURNETT, at Bishop Burnett's Head,
near St. Clement's Church, in the Strand.

MDCCLXVI.

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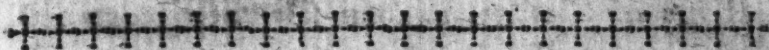




HISTORICAL ESSAYS

UPON

P A R I S.



*Manners, Usages, and Customs under
the second Race.*

IT is manifest, the French had no other intention in attacking Gaul, than to quit their forests for the sake of enjoying an easier life, in fruitful, plenteous, and cultivated Provinces. If their object had been to have founded an Empire, they would not have failed to enact in one of their Assemblies in the *Field of Mars*, that the Royalty should be indivisible, the Succession in the eldest son, and that the portions of the younger children should revert to the

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B

Crown,

Crown, in default of male issue. *Clovis's* four sons, by dividing his Conquests amongst them, formed so many different Kingdoms; and this fatal partition, besides weakening the general strength of the Nation by dividing it, did not fail to become an inexhaustible source of opposite claims, distrusts, animosities, and civil wars, fomented by jealousy and ambition, amongst these Princes and their Successors.

The same cause produced the same melancholy effects, under the second Race. The French, Masters of almost all Europe in the Reign of *Charlemain*, soon saw their glory and grandeur vanish, by the partitions which *Lewis* the Debonnaire made in favour of each of his children. "The division of the French Empire," says *Mezerai*, "between three brothers equal in power, disunited the people of Gaul from those of Germany and Italy, who were beginning to unite into one Monarchical body." France, drained of Soldiers, by the wars these Princes waged with each other, fell an easy prey to the ravages of the Normans.

The Popes owed all their temporal fortune to *Charlemain*; but Priests frequently imagine they are not beholden to any but God Almighty. They availed themselves of the troubles, to endeavour



deavour at fettering their Emperors. It was in the bosom of Discord, that they forged those thunder-bolts, which the superstition and ignorance of those times rendered so dreadful.

Under the first Race, the heir to the Throne had the hatchet, or *Angon* * of his predecessor put into his hand. He was then raised upon the shield; that is, he was carried by Soldiers round the Camp upon their bucklers. Such was the noble and simple method of inaugurating our first Kings. Neither those who presented the hatchet or *Angon*, nor the Soldiers who carried them round the Camp, ever imagined from this ceremony, that they had a power of de-throning them. St. *Boniface* †, Archbishop of
B 2 Mentz,

* A kind of Javelin, one of whose ends resembled a Flower de Luce. The iron in the middle was freight, pointed, and sharp; the other two parts which joined to it, were curved, in the manner of a Crescent. There is all the reason in the world to believe, that the figure formed by this end of the *Angon*, was first of all placed as an ornament, at the end of scepters, and round crowns; that our Kings chose it afterwards for their Arms, and that people are mistaken in believing that this was a Flower de Luce.

† Upon every occasion, says *Mexera*, he acted in such a manner, that every thing he did, had relation to the Pope's Sovereignty, to which he was entirely devoted.

Some Authors aver, that this same *Boniface* informed against *Virgilius* the Priest, whom the Pope excommunicated, because he maintained that there were Antipodes.

Mentz, and Legate of the Holy See, persuaded *Pepin* the Short, (the first King who was consecrated) that by causing himself to be anointed, in imitation of the Kings of Israel, with holy oil, he would render his person more august, and his power more respectable; and that his election, far from being looked upon as an usurpation, would be considered as a decree of Heaven. The introduction of this ceremony, which was never put in practice till the period of which we are speaking, was a shoot of that proud delirium, which led Churchmen to make so many attacks upon the secular authority. As the Bishops, by imposing the Crown, appeared to confer it as on the part of God, they presumed also that they had a power to take it off, and to judge and depose their Sovereigns *. They were no longer meek Pastors, modestly seated in Councils, upon wooden benches, with wax-tapers in their hands: They were new Potentates, armed with thunder-bolts, and riding sublime above the storms and tempests they excited in the State: Imagining themselves to have reached Heaven with their heads, they trampled upon scepters with their imperious feet, and gave or distributed these ensigns of Royalty just as they pleased.

They

* Vide *M. de Fleury* Hist. Eccles. Disc. IV. N. X.

They declared the Emperor *Lotharius* to have forfeited his share in the succession of his ancestors, and gave, by *divine authority*, the Dominions he possessed beyond the mountains, to his two younger brothers. They forgot, that one brother complaining of another, and soliciting *Jesus Christ* to regulate their several partitions, *Jesus Christ* replied, *Who made me a Judge or Divider over you?*

Can it be believed that *Venilon*, Archbishop of Sens, could have had the audacity to excommunicate and depose *Charles the Bald*; and would one conceive that it was a Monarch who spoke in a Writing which this Prince published against that seditious Priest? “This Prelate,” says he, “ought not to have deposed me, till
 “I had appeared before the Bishops who con-
 “secrated me, and till I had received their sen-
 “tence *, to which I always have been, and
 “ever will be very submissive. They are the
 “Thrones of God, and it is by them that he
 “pronounces his decrees.”

B 3

It

* *Quâ consecratione vel regni sublimitate, supplantari vel projici à nullo debueram, saltem sine audientiâ & judicio Episcoporum quorum ministerio in regem sum consecratus, & qui Throni Dei sunt dicti; in quibus Deus sedet & per quos sua decernit judicia; quorum paternis correctionibus & castigatoriis judiciis me subdere fui paratus & in presenti sum subditus. Libel. adversus Venilonem. Apud Duch. T. II. p. 436.*

It was not possible for a King who had acknowledged himself removeable at the will of the Clergy, who some years after received the Imperial Crown as a gift of the Holy See, and who took upon him the title of the Pope's Counsellor of State, to appear to the French Nobility in any other light, than that of the vain and ridiculous phantom of an Emperor, whom it was shameful to obey. Royalty is respected even in a wicked Prince, if he does not in other respects disgrace it; but it is repugnant to Nature, to submit to Masters who have rendered themselves contemptible. Each Lord, under pretence of protecting his Estates from the incursions of the Normans, meditated nothing but to fortify himself in his Castle. The greatest part of the Governors of the Provinces usurped the inheritance of their *Counties*, which till then they only enjoyed during life; and the house of *Charlemain*, daily declining in the midst of troubles and divisions, no longer held the scepter but with a feeble and trembling hand.

Another Cause of this Decline.

The French whom *Pharamond* conducted to the conquest of Gaul, were a Colony of the people who inhabited between the *Wefer* and the

the Elbe; and our Kings of the first Race gloried in being of the same blood as the Princes who governed the *Saxons*, who were the most powerful Nation amongst that people. *Charlemain* undertook to subdue them, and this war continued upwards of thirty years. Prostrate under the Victor's chariot, after the most bloody engagements, they seemed for some time to have relinquished their haughtiness; but soon, chafing with rage, at the sight of their chains, they once more tempted the fate of war. *Charlemain* let himself be persuaded that he could never mould them to his yoke, but by forcing them to embrace Christianity. He declared that *every Saxon, who would not get himself baptized, and who from that time should eat meat in Lent, should suffer death* *. Thus was the God of Peace announced to them with sword in hand; and they were compelled to receive Baptism, in places that were still reeking with their Countrymen's blood. Their obstinate perseverance in Paganism, and their continual revolts, deserved, according to some Historians, all the evils and cruel treatment they met with. Do these Historians then look upon the changing of one's Religion as a matter so very easy? Is God desirous, that his worship should be propagated

B 4

by

* Vide the Capitularies, anno 780.

by force and violence? Can the brave *Vitiking* be called a rebel for defending his Liberty and his Country? The Saxons who should not be confounded with other people nearer the Rhine, that had submitted themselves to *Charles Martel* and *Pepin the Short*; the Saxons, I say, who were free-born, were they to be deemed rebellious, were they criminal, because they reddened at the bondage which a foreign Power held up to them?

Several families of this unhappy Nation took refuge in Denmark and Norway, where they diffused a hatred and horror of the Christian Religion, and the name of a Frenchman. It is said, that *Charlemain* perceiving from a window of a Castle by the Sea-side, a Fleet of those *Normans* * who were preparing to make a descent upon

* Their vessels were built of nothing but branches of willow and osier, which they covered with the hides of oxen. *Norman*, a man of the North, or *Morman*, a Sea man: *Mor* signified in Celtic, and still signifies in British, *Sea*, and *Man* the same as in English. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who wrote in the time of *Merouée* and *Cbilderic*, says (Book VIII. Epist. VI.) *Shipwrecks which people are exposed to in attempting any enterprise, appear to the Saxons as inconveniencies, but not as obstacles; that one would believe they had seen the Sea dry, so just and exact is their knowledge of all its banks and shoals; that a dreadful tempest encreases their hopes, and that they congratulate themselves, when struggling against the furious waves,*

upon our Coasts, said, with tears in his eyes,
*If they dare to threaten my Realms, whilst I am
 still living, what will they not do after I am dead?*

A fatal presage, which was afterwards but too fully confirmed, when the divisions and civil wars which tore France in pieces, in the Reigns of his son and grand-sons, procured those implacable enemies such easy means of penetrating into the Kingdom on all sides. They ravaged it at different times for nearly fourscore years. The burning of one Province was only the prelude to their destroying another; the fields were no longer cultivated; the peasants flew for shelter into the thickest woods, and into subterraneous retreats which they had dug for themselves: Never was there a more terrible devastation. It seemed as if the sovereign Arbiter of the fate of people and Kings had said from the top of his Throne; "The Saxons, against whom France
 "waged an unjust and barbarous war, shall cover
 "her with the same wounds which she inflicted
 "on their Country; I will reject, I will extin-
 "guish the Race of *Charlemain*; his pomp and
 "magnificence shall pass away like a shadow, and
 "I will conduct the Descendants of *Vitikint* into
 "the heritage of the Princes of their blood."

B 5

This

*waves, that Heaven grants so proper a season for rendering
 secure against the fear of a descent, such Coasts as they want to
 surprise and pillage,*

This generous Defender of the remains of Germany, after having found for sixteen or seventeen years, that all the efforts of his courage had only served to compleat the misfortunes of the people whom he commanded, resolved to pay homage to *Charlemain*. The Conferences he held in the mean time with some Bishops, enlightened his understanding. He received Baptism, and afterwards lived in so Christian-like a manner, that, after his death, he was placed amongst the number of the Saints. He was killed in 807 by *Gerold*, Duke of Suabia. "His Posterity," says *Pasquier* †, "began to settle in France, and were destined to terminate and close the Line of *Charlemain*." He left two sons; some Historians say four ‡, *Thierri*, *Vitikint* the Younger, *Immir*, and *Reginben*: they were cousins german to the Empress *Hildegarde*, wife to *Charlemain*, and daughter to the Duke of the Suevi. *Thierri* succeeded his father in the government of Saxony. *Vitikint* the Younger assumed the name of *Robert* at his Baptism, remained in France, and was father of *Robert* the Strong, Count of *Anjou*, and Marquis of *France*, and great-grand-father to *Hugh Capet*. It is recorded in an antient Charter of the Abbey of

† Tom. I. Lib. VI. Cap. I.

‡ *Alberici Monachi Chron.*

of St. Martin of Tours, that in the year 863, Charles the Bald gave that Abbey to Robert, Count of Anjou, of the Saxon Race, and Son of R. by way of abbreviation: some have copied this Robert, and others Richard. The Abbé d'Urfperg, and an ancient Chronicle quoted by Fauchet, who was a very accurate writer, say, that Robert the Strong was Son to Vitikint. We find again that Charles the Bald gave the command of his Army against the Bretons, to Vitikint* and Robert his Son. Aimoin, who wrote in the Reign of King Robert, Son of Hugh Capet, avers, that Robert the Strong was of Saxon descent; *Robertus Andegavensis comes, Saxonici generis vir*. "The regal Power passed, says an Historian, cotemporary with Lewis VIII. "from "the family of the Charles's into that of the "Counts of Paris, who were of Saxon origin." *Regnum translatum est de genealogiâ Carolorum in progeniem comitum Parisiensium, qui de genere Saxonum processerunt.* Anonym. de gest. Ludovic. VIII. Alberic, who wrote about the year 1240, and who seems to have been very solicitous in tracing and pointing out antient genealogies, also makes Robert the Strong descend from Vitikint.

B 6

To

* He might be born about the year 790, and might at this time be aged 63 years, and his son Robert the Strong 43.

To these authorities, I shall subjoin some reflections, which appear to me necessary, but which no one has hitherto made.

In *Pontus-Heuterus's* * Etymologies of German names we find that *Robert* was a German name.

Robert was not a name known in France under the first and second Race, till the Reign of *Charles the Bald*; whereas in Germany we find a *Robert* Chief of the Germans, who entered into a League with *Dagobert I.* and who beat the Sclavonians in 630. Vide *Gesta Dagoberti I.* Lib. I. Cap. 27. & *Rerum Gallicarum Script.* Tom. II. p. 587.

Another *Robert*, born at Worms, a cotemporary with *Charles Martel*, and who is stiled Prince † of the Blood-Royal, was Bishop of that City, preached the Gospel in Germany, converted *Theodon*, Duke of Bavaria, and founded a Monastery at Jevane, now Saltzburg. *Maillon Act. Sanct.*

No

* *Pontij-Heuteri*, in Etym. verb. Germ. pag. 228.

† *Clowis* united all the tribes of the *Franks* under his dominion, after having massacred the Kings of these different tribes (the *Salians*, the *Sicambri*, the *Catti*, the *Ripuarii*, &c.) who were all of the same family. Some of the sons, brothers, and nephews of these unfortunate Kings, took refuge in their antient Country, with the Kings of the *Suevi* and *Saxons*, their relations.

No doubt several of the Ancestors of *Robert* the Strong bore the name of *Robert*, and it was a common name in his family, like that of *Charles* or *Pepin* in the House of *Charlemain*. Let us consider at the same time, that his Ancestors must necessarily have been great Lords; now, how could it happen that no mention is made of any of these *Roberts* under the first Race and at the beginning of the second, if France had been their native Country, and they had resided there?

If it is said that *Robert* the Strong was the first of his family who bore the name of *Robert*, I ask why did he take a foreign name, a name that was not national, if I may use this term?

It is said, that *Vitikint* the Younger assumed the name of *Robert* at his Baptism; and I observe that the Saxon and Danish Lords who were baptised in France at that time, usually took that name. Is it not likely that it was in veneration of that Saint *Robert* who was stiled a Prince, who preached Christianity in their Country, and whose memory was quite recent amongst them?

It seems King *Eudes*, *Robert* his brother, and their father *Robert* the Strong, were all born in the Territories of Neustria, which *Charlemain* had given, as is said, to *Vitikint* the Younger. *Abbon* in his Poem, which was written upon *Eudes*'s being elected King, says, that *Neustria*
felici-

felicitates and honours itself for having seen him born; and in another passage, he adds with the emphasis and flattery of a Poet, and of a Neustrian Poet too, *that Neustria is the noblest Country in the Universe, having carried such mighty Lords in her bosom*: *Genitrix procerum vastè dominantum.*

M. le Gendre de St. Aubin has written an ample Dissertation, to prove that *Robert the Strong* descended from *Childebrand*, King of the Lombards, who took refuge in France, when he was dethroned by *Rachis* in 744. He founds his opinion upon a passage of *Helgaud*, where it is said, that King *Robert*, son to *Hugh Capet*, humbly said (*humillimis asserabat verbis*) that he was of Italian extraction. In the first place, this passage of *Helgaud* is very apocryphal. Secondly, it would contradict the opinion that M. le Gendre means to establish; for what humility would there have been in King *Robert's* acknowledging that he was descended from a King of Lombardy? Thirdly, M. le Gendre, to support his opinion, is obliged to translate *Germanus* by brother-in-law; now *Germanus* has never been used by any Author to signify aught but *brother*, and not *brother-in-law*. Some other Genealogists do not make *Robert the Strong* to descend from *Childebrand*, King of Lombardy, but from *Childebrand*, brother to *Charles Martel*, and grand-uncle

cle to *Charlemain*. There is no more authority for this opinion than the former, and it has been refuted by very cogent reasons, which I shall not repeat. I shall content myself with observing, that the third Race would not have been mentioned, as it would have been only the same; and *Foulques*, Archbishop of Rheims, and the principal Members of the Assembly where the Election of King *Eudes* was debated, could not have talked in the manner they did; *We cannot consent*, said they, *to his Election, because he is a stranger to the family of Charlemain: ab stirpe Regia existens alienus.* *Foulques* wrote to this purpose, even to the Emperor *Arnold*, who interested himself for *Eudes*, and it is certain this Emperor could not be imposed upon with respect to Princes who were or were not of the family of *Charlemain*. Let us say at the same time, that it is not likely, that the Lords who declared themselves in favour of *Eudes*, in this Assembly, would have dared to have made the proposal of offering him the Crown, if his origin had not been known, and that he sprung from the same stock * as *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, *Merouée*, these
first

* It is certain, that our Kings of the first Race were of the same family as the Kings of the Suevi and Saxons. *Eudes* descended, by *Vitiking*, from the Kings of the Suevi and Saxons.

first Chiefs, who conducted the French to the Conquest of Gaul.

It seems moreover, that Heaven by its Decrees relative to the two different Posterities, was willing they should be distinguished as two distinct families. That of *Robert* the Strong (without reckoning *Eudes* and his brother *Robert* amongst our Kings) enjoyed the Crown from male heir to male heir, for near 800 * years, an unparalleled Epocha in the History of Monarchies. *Charlemain's* Posterity were extinct in Germany and Italy, at the third Generation, and none of his Descendants who reigned in France, died a natural death. I am surpris'd that this Remark has escaped all Historians.

† Chagrin and inanition terminated the days of the deplorable *Lewis le Debonnaire*, in a small Island upon the Rhine.

Charles the Bald died in a Cottage, at the foot of Mount Cenis, poisoned by the Jew *Sedecias*, his Physician. The children he had by his second wife, died in non-age. By the first he had *Lewis*, *Charles*, *Lothario*, *Carloman* and *Judith*. He had caused *Carloman's* eyes to be put out. *Lewis* §, surnamed the Stammerer, succeeded him,

* *Hugh Capet* was crowned in 987.

† *Annales de Bertin*.

§ *Vide Le Gendre*.

him, and was also poisoned. *Charles*, King of Aquitaine, returning one night from hunting in the forest of Guise, near Compiègne, and wanting to frighten a Lord named *Albain*; that Nobleman not knowing the King, gave him such violent blows upon the head, that he never recovered. *Judith* let herself be carried off by the Forester of Flanders.

Lewis III. who succeeded *Lewis* the Stammerer, running after the daughter of one *Germond*, a Tradesman of Tours *, whose beauty had struck him, and who made her escape from him by getting into a house, had his back broke, either by his horse running away with him, or by endeavouring to force him through the door which was too low.

† *Carloman II.* his brother, was wounded by the carelessness of one of his own people, named *Bertold*, when hunting in the forest of *Baizieu* §, and died the seventh day after. He had the generosity to say he had been wounded by a boar, lest this unhandy servant might have been punished after his death.

Charles the Fat collected all the Succession of *Charlemain*. He made so shameful a Treaty with

* Vide the Monk *de St. Vaast*.

† Idem.

§ Situated about 5 or 6 leagues from Amiens.

with the Normans, and his puerile devotion rendered him in other respects so contemptible, that he was deposed. This Monarch who some days before had commanded so many Millions, was abandoned to that degree, that he had not a single footman left to serve him. *He sent to ask bread, say the Historians, of the Archbishop of Mentz.* The bastard *Arnold*, his nephew, who had been elected in his place, made him an assignment for his subsistence, of the village of Nidenguen, where he was secretly strangled at the end of a few months.

Charles the Simple, being betrayed by *Herbert*, Count of Vermandois, ended his days in grief and despair, imprisoned at Peronne.

* *Lewis IV.* surnamed d'*Outremer*, as he was pursuing a wolf upon the road to Rheims, fell from his horse, and died of the bruises he received by his fall.

Lotharius and his son *Lewis V.* the two last Kings of that Race, were poisoned by their wives, who were very gay Princesses, and with whom they lived upon very bad terms.

Charles, Duke of Lower † *Lorraine*, brother to *Lotharius*, and the last of the Blood of *Charlemain*,

* *Duch.* p. 632. Vol. II.

† The Dutchy of Lower *Lorraine* comprehended *Brabant*,
Luxemb.

main, died in prison in the large Tower of Orleans, in 993. He left three sons, (*Otho* *, *Lewis* and *Charles*,) who died young and without issue. His two daughters (*Hermengarde* and *Gerberge*) married, the first with *Albert*, Count of Namur, and the other with *Lambert*, Count of Hainaut.

Continuation of the Manners and Customs under the second Race.

Charlemain gloried in being originally a *Frank*. He always dressed according to the French fashion, that is to say, with a short † close coat. He looked with indignation upon such Frenchmen as he met habited in long robes, like the Gauls: *See there our Franks*, would he cry, *behold our free men, who take the dress of the people*

Luxemburg, the County of Liege, Gueldres, Cleves, Juliers, and others, towards the mouths of the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheld.

* *Otho* died in 1006, after having reigned about 13 years over Lower-Lorraine. His brothers must have died before him, as his sisters laid claim to this Dutchy, and declared war against *Godfrey d'Ardenne*, to whom the Emperor had given it, in default of male issue; by an accommodation which they entered into, they obtained Lands in the neighbourhood, and a considerable sum, payable at different terms.

† *Eginb. de vitâ Caroli Magni.*

people they have subdued; what a shame, what a bad omen § !

He sealed the Treaties he made with the pommel of his sword, where there was probably a signet: *I will maintain them*, said he, *with the point.*

Every body knows that he was very fond of women; but every body does not know he met with a cruel one, whose name was *Sainte Amalberge*: he pursued her; she fell down in flying from one room to another, and broke her arm.

In a paper wherein he kept a private account of the things he intended to propose to the Parliament of 811, one may observe the difference betwixt the Ecclesiastics of those times and the present *. “I will ask the Church-
“men,” says he, “what the Apostle means, when
“he intimates that *none of those who are design-
“ed for the service of God, should interfere with
“temporal affairs.* I want them to explain to
“me what they understand, when they say
“they have quitted the world, and whether they
“are to be distinguished from Seculars by any
“thing but celibacy. I desire likewise to know,
“if they believe that he has really quitted the
“world,

§ *Aventin. Lib. IV. nota Seminckii.*

* *Hist. de France, par Cordemoi, Tom. I. p. 640.*

“ world, who thinks of nothing but increasing
“ his riches by every possible means; whose
“ only study it is to persuade the simple, that
“ eternal happiness depends upon the good that
“ one does to their Church; and who makes
“ use of the sacred name of God, or that of
“ some of his Saints, to induce a poor ignorant
“ testator to wrong his lawful heirs, and thereby
“ expose them to become guilty of all the crimes
“ that are incidental to poverty.”

Pascal III. who gave *Charlemain* a place amongst the Saints, not being looked upon as a legal Pontiff, this canonization was not unanimously adopted. *Alexander III.* having come to a reconciliation with *Frederic I.* the canonization was approved, as being solicited by that Emperor.

I have already observed that *Charles* the Bald caused the eyes of his son *Carloman* to be put out. *Lewis le Debonnaire* had the same thing done to his nephew, the young *Bernard*, King of Italy. Mutilations became so frequent, that Vassals, in their oaths of fidelity, swore, that they would defend the person of their Lord, and not consent that he should be maimed in any part of his body. The Abbés, instead of inflicting canonical pains upon their Monks, ordered an ear, an arm, or a leg to be cut off.

In

In 793. there was a great famine. All the ears of corn were found empty, and several Demons * were heard in the air, declaring that they had devoured the crop, because the tythes were not paid to the Clergy. It was ordered, that for the future the tythes should be paid. It is very extraordinary, that the Devils should interest themselves so strongly in favour of our Clergy.

The Latin language was the vulgar tongue, or that which every body spoke, under the first Race. It is believed that it began to be no longer vulgar, in the beginning of the Reign of *Lewis le Debonnaire*. It is certain that at the Council of Arles, in 851, under the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, the Clergy were ordered to make their *Instruções and Homelies in the Romance tongue, that every one might understand them*. The Romance tongue was a corrupt mixture of the Celtic and Latin, into which several Tudesque terms and expressions were introduced, after the Franks had established themselves in Gaul. The Tudesque was a corrupt Celtic, and the language of the Franks, the Celtic having anciently been the mother-tongue of all the West. The Romance language has since become the French language.

The

* Vide the Capitularies, anno 774. Art. 23.

The Lord put a sod into the hand of the person whom he invested with an Estate, who thereupon became his Vassal. In the Parliament, or general Assembly of the Nation, in the month of May 922, the greatest part of the Grandees of the Kingdom, being discontented with *Charles the Simple*, declared they would have him no longer for their Lord, and signified that *they renounced their faith and homage to him, by breaking and throwing upon the ground bits of straw, which they held in their hands.*

It seems there were in those times methods of acquiring reputation, and even sometimes of making a fortune, in an instant. Women accused of adultery, were allowed to justify themselves *by the trial of duel*, that is, by presenting to the Judges a *Champion* of noble rank, who offered to compel the accuser in the Lists to deny what he had advanced. The vanquished, dead or alive, was dragged upon a hurdle, and hung up by the feet; the woman was justified or punished. In the Reign of *Lewis the Stammerer*, the Countess of *Gastinois* was accused of having poisoned her husband; the circumstances were so strong against her, and *Gontran*, her accuser, and cousin-german to her husband, passed for such a redoubted warrior, that she found herself deserted by all her relations and friends. *Ingelger*,

a young man of about 17 or 18, the son of one *Torquat*, a Gentleman of Britanny, offered himself to prove she was innocent. The * Judges ordered the combat; he slew *Gontran*; the Countess, by the advice and consent of her Barons and Vassals, made him her heir. The Archbishop of Tours gave him in marriage the beautiful *Andelinda*, his niece, with the Castles of Amboise, Buzençay and Chatillon; he was the stock of the Counts of Anjou, who mounted the Throne of England.

The proprietors of the Castles which had been built on every side to prevent the incursions of the *Normans*, became in the end almost as fatal a scourge, as these Pirates themselves had been. From the tops of their Fortresses they flew down upon every thing that presented itself in the valley; obliged travellers to give ransom, pillaged traders, and carried off women if they were handsome: one would have said, robberies, rapes, and outrages, were become the rights of the Lord. *On the other hand*, says *Mezerau*, *true courage and courtesey were not so stifled, but that there were to be found Gentlemen, generous enough to make Laws and Statutes, whereby they engaged to traverse the Provinces, and to attack and destroy these petty Tyrants; hence, adds he, Romance-*

* Vid. *Gest. Andeg.*

romance-writers have forged their *Knights Errant*, and all their monsters and giants.

Women and Girls were not a whit more secure in passing by Abbeys, where the Monks would stand an assault, rather than give up their prey. If they found themselves too much pressed, they brought out the relicks of some Saints, and exhibited them upon the breach; then it almost always happened that the assailants seized with respect, retired without daring to pursue their revenge. This is the origin of those enchanters, enchantments, and enchanted Castles, which are so much talked of in the same Romance-writers.

Queen *Adélaïde*, widow to *Lothario*, King of Italy, was one of the finest women of her time. *Berenger* wanting to force her to marry his son, besieged her in Pavia, took that City, and afterwards shut her up in the Castle *de Garde*, leaving her only one of her women to wait upon her, and a Priest to say Mass to her. She found means to escape out of prison. The Archbishop of Reggio had offered her a retreat. She was obliged to travel on foot, and by night too, hiding herself in the day-time amongst the corn, whilst her Almoner went thro' the villages, in search of provision. Another Priest met her, and made her dishonourable proposals which she rejected with

great dignity. * *Well then, (said he to her) give me up your maid at least, or else I will go and discover you to Berenger. The Princess, continues Mezerey, submitted to necessity, and the maid to her Mistress. A Casuist has found out, that this adventure furnished matter for a case of conscience, which he has treated with great sagacity.*

*Manners, Usages and Customs, till the
Reign of Lewis XI.*

The French who completed the conquest of Gaul, were not sufficiently numerous to occupy all the Lands. They only took the third part, which was divided into *Salique Lands, Military Benefices*, and the *King's Domains*. The *Salique Lands* were such as fell to the lot of every Frenchman, and consequently were hereditary. The title of *Military Benefices* was given to Lands which were not distributed, but which remained to the State; and these the Kings were to give as a recompence for life to such as deserved them by their actions, or by their long services. Such considerable parts as the *Chief* shared in the general division, were called the *King's Domains*. These *Domains* in different parts of the Realm, amounted to above 160,

and composed the principal Revenue of our Kings of the first and second Race. They were not country-houses, with vast gardens embellished by art; but they were good farms, and usually in the middle of forests. Studs of horses were kept at them, with oxen, cows, sheep, and poultry in abundance. The King travelled all the year round from one of these Domains to another. It might be said, that he lived upon his Lands, and the provisions which he did not consume, were disposed of for his benefit. *Charlemain*, in one of his Capitularies, (*de Villis*, art. 39.) orders the poultry of the lower-courts of his Domains, and the vegetables of his gardens, to be sold. A Financier who now spends at least ten thousand crowns a year for the pot-herbs of his country-house, would be offended if one were to say, Let him send the overplus of the greens and roots he don't use for himself and servants, to be sold at market.

The French, in order to have hands to cultivate the country which they had taken possession of, were not obliged to compel any of those to servitude. Amongst the Romans, and afterwards under the first, second, and third Races, till the enfranchisement of the Bondsmen, what was called an Estate or Farm, was not only a certain number of acres and some buildings; it

also included cattle and slaves, which enhanced its value.

The Dukes, Counts, Vicars, and Centurions or Thungins, had the management of the Finances, and administered Justice in the Provinces, where they convened such as * were to take the field, and assembled and conducted them to the general rendez-vous. There were also Lands annexed to these great and little Magistracies. The Judges were all military: by the Salique Law they were obliged to put their shield upon their arm, when they pronounced sentence.

Towards the end of the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, the *Counts* and *Dukes* availing themselves of the national troubles, began to convert their titles and commissions, which were at most only for life, into hereditary Dignities in their families. They made themselves proprietary Lords of the Provinces and Cities, the government of which had been intrusted to them only for a time. Their example was presently imitated by the greatest part of those who found themselves invested with less considerable Magistracies, or with *Military Benefices*; and the occasion they thought they had of each others assistance, to support

* If a person did not arrive at the army by the day appointed, he was condemned to abstain from wine and meat for as long a time, as he neglected his service.

support themselves in their usurpations, was the origin, according to most Civilians, of the fiefs * and rear-fiefs, that is to say, of that Convention, whereby he who had appropriated to himself only a Borough or a City, took an oath to him who had made himself master of a whole Province, to acknowledge him for his Lord, and to defend his person and estate, on condition that he on his side would protect and defend him, and never deny him justice.

The two last Kings of the second Race were far from being the richest Lords of their Kingdom: they had nothing left for their whole Domain but the Cities of Laon, Soissons and Compiègne. By *Hugh Capet's* accession to the throne, the Crown was enriched with the County of Paris and the Dutchy § of France, of which his Ancestors had also made themselves Lords proprietors.

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* The word *fief* is derived from the Latin word *fedus* (alliance) because the Lord and the Vassal tied themselves reciprocally by the act of infeudation.

§ *Robert* the Strong was killed in a battle with the Normans in 867, in the village of Brisserte in Anjou. *Charles* the Bald had in 863, given him the Dutchy of France. This Dutchy or Government, besides considerable territories in Picardy and Champagne, comprehended the City and County of Paris, Orleannois, the County of Chartrain, Perche, the County of Blois, Touraine and part of Anjou and Maine; so that the Counts and private Lords of these different Countries held their Estates of the Dutchy of France.

prietors. He confirmed the great and small Vassals in the possession and inheritance of their fiefs, that is, he let them enjoy the Cities, Lands, Posts and Provinces which they had usurped. The great Vassals were the Dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, the Counts of Flanders, and Champagne, the Duke of Aquitaine and Gascony, the Count of Toulouse, and the Count of Barcelona *. These Provinces which were converted into fiefs, are now returned to their primitive state of Provinces, being revertible to the Crown in case of felony, or in default of heirs.

Each of these great Vassals had all the rights of Sovereignty within his own fief, and when he was attacked or aggrieved, his Liege-Vassals § were obliged to follow him to war, even against the

* By the Charters collected by *M. de Marca*, it appears, that from the time of *Charles the Bald*, till the 16th year of the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, the Counts of *Barcelona* continued to date their acts by the years of the Reign of our Kings; which is a proof that they acknowledged them for their Sovereigns.

§ The Lords in making Grants of their own Lands, or of those which they had usurped, stipulated terms more or less burthensome for those to whom they gave these fiefs. The Liege-Vassal was obliged to serve his Lord against every one in person; whereas the free Vassal might substitute a man in his place, and was not compelled to succour his Lord but upon certain occasions.

the King †. If he was conquered, and if the Peers and other Grandees of the Kingdom assembled in Parliament, judged that he had been guilty of felony, that is to say, that he took up arms without lawful reasons, the King might confiscate his fief, but he could not be condemned to death. The custom of obtaining nobility by a post, or purchasing it with money, not being yet introduced, the blood of every nobleman appeared so sacred, that it could not be spilt for any other crime than that of treason. The first grant of nobility is dated in the year 1271, in the Reign of *Philip the Bold*, son to *St. Lewis*.

There was a distinction made between the King's wars and the wars of the State, and consequently the King's forces and those of the State were very different. Those were called the *King's wars*, which he waged against the great or small Vassals; and he could not press any to serve in them, but the men of his own Lands and the Liege-Vassals of his Lordships. It cost *Lewis the Fat* a war of three years continuance to subdue *Bouchard de Montmorency* *, and two or three other Lords, at about ten or twelve leagues from Paris; whereas the same Prince

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appear-

† The King, even to this day, is pleased to allow pleading against himself. It was a privilege allowed at that time.

* His son *Matthew* married the Widow of *Lewis the Fat*.

appeared at the head of above 20,000 men, when he was to march against the Emperor *Henry V.* who advanced towards Rheims, and flew back with such terror and precipitation, that he did not stop till after he had repassed the Moselle and the Rhine. The King of England, who was at the same time Duke of Normandy, had instigated this irruption of the Germans. *Lewis* the Fat endeavoured to engage the Lords and Barons to follow him, to make the conquest of Normandy, but they all excused themselves, and returned home with the respective contingents of men they had brought along with them: We came, said they, to defend our common Country which was threatened by a foreign power, but we are not obliged to concur in dispossessing the Duke of Normandy, a Vassal of the Crown, and consequently one of the Members of the Monarchy. Their usual policy was to wish the State powerful, but not that the King should become so great as to be able to humble and debase them.

The Feudal Laws, says M. de Montesquieu, present a very beautiful prospect. An antient oak * lifts

* *L'Esprit des Loix*, Tom. II. p. 414.

Some Authors whom *M. de Montesquieu* has followed without reflexion, pretend that *Military Benefices* was given

lifts its head to heaven; the eye descries from afar its spreading foliage; it approaches nearer, and sees the trunk; but it does not perceive the root; the earth must be dug up before that is discovered.

As to me, I should say, that the Feudal Government degenerates almost always into anarchy; an antient oak (*the Royalty*) is weakened; its large branches (*the great Vassals*) suck away the sap and the substance. The state of the Nation from the time of Clovis to the Reign of *Charles the Bald*, was a noble spectacle; a Frenchman was only his Country's Vassal; he acknowledged no intermediate power between the King and himself; his Chiefs were his equals; and when he marched under them, it was only in obedience to the voice of his King. From the time of *Charles the Bald*, to the Reign of *Lewis XI.* France divided under so many petty Sovereigns, who continually united against the Royal

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upon condition, that those who received them should be always ready to march out to war; that consequently they were Fiefs, and therefore the origin of Fiefs was as ancient as the Monarchy. These Authors are mistaken, since it is not to be doubted that every Frenchman after he had arrived at a certain age, was obliged to serve, and therefore it was not natural that any one should receive a gratification for performing an indispensable duty prescribed by a general rule. *Military Benefices* were not obtained, as I have observed, but as a recompence for long services.

authority, and frequently allied with the English, was a shocking spectacle.

The spirit of independency was general; every one arrogated to himself *the right of war*; City took up arms against City, Parish against Parish, Abbey against Abbey, and one family against another; relations beyond the fourth degree, were not obliged to take part in these quarrels, but they might interpose as friends or allies. From time to time some remedies were attempted to be applied to these disorders. It was prohibited to commit any act of hostility during Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter and Whitsuntide, as it was also to wait for one's enemy near a Church, and to attack him when going to Mass, or at any time from Thursday night till break of day on Monday morning. *Philip the Fair* wanted, in 1311, to abolish these civil wars entirely. The Nobility to support what they looked upon as one of their privileges, revolted; and *Lewis Hutin*, his Successor, was obliged in 1315, to tolerate them, *whilst the nation was at peace with foreign powers*. We read in the Book of Remonstrances of the Province of Picardy, art. 6. *The Nobles desire that they may use arms at pleasure as formerly, and that they may have the privilege of making war and tilling.* "Agreed to by the King, as to
" the

“ the right of arms and war, as they were practised in time past, Art. 25. The King also grants duelling and gage of battle, in cases of crimes which cannot be proved by witnesses.”

Lewis the Young, in 1168, had ordered that duelling should not take place for a debt that did not exceed five sols. *Philip* the Fair prohibited it in all civil affairs.

I knew a man fond of paradoxes, who was foolish enough to maintain, that there was really less injustice done, and that property was much better secured at that time than now. He said that the Lawyers and Clergy wearing no swords, are not so polite amongst themselves as military men; that an insult would not be so slightly passed over, if the affair could be brought to an issue in the *Champclos* (or *Lits*); and moreover, that the relations of a man who wanted to encroach upon his neighbour, were interested in dissuading him from it, as both families were obliged to engage in these little wars: I agree, subjoined he, that each other's vines were torn up, their barns were set on fire, crops destroyed, and that a father was compelled to be an eye witness of his children's being put to death; whereas now they are at most only reduced to beggary, when their father has been ruined by the quirks of an Attorney, the intrigues of a Secretary,

cretary, or the avarice of the Reporter of a Case, who has purchased the right of deciding causes and of making the parties feel the effects of his delays, caprice, and insolence.

Sequel of the Manners, Usages and Customs, till the Reign of Lewis XI.

It seems the superior Clergy of that time, like those of the present, were endowed with the virtue of continence. This was not the case with the Cannons and Curates; the greater part of them married, and flattered themselves that by certain specious reasonings they should dazzle the policy of the Monarch and his Nobles. In listening to them, one would imagine that marriage was necessary to make a Priest a Citizen, and to attach him to the State; that the hopes of obtaining favour and protection for his children, made him not only less enterprising and bold, but more humble and circumspect towards the Magistrates, and that the Court of Rome in condemning the Clergy to celibacy, had no other design than to form in every Kingdom, a separate body, always ready to rise against the temporal power, and to acknowledge no other than the Pope for their Sovereign. Such Discourses could not fail to enrage the Holy See
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and its Legates. Pope *Calixtus II.* in the Council of Rheims held in the year 1119, excommunicated all the married Clergy, deprived them of their livings, prohibited hearing Mass performed by them, pronounced their children bastards, and thought it necessary to extend his rigour even to these innocent beings, so far as to give them up a prey to the avarice of the Lords; he allowed them to be reduced to a state of servitude and sold. I should imagine that a very curious history might be compiled of the different revolutions in men's manner of thinking upon the most simple and natural things. The Laws of Moses, according to all the Rabbins, excluded from the Congregation of Israel, all those who were not married at a certain age. By the Roman Laws, the unmarried were neither allowed to make a will, nor to give evidence. *Have you a wife?* * was the first question put by the Censor, when a person appeared to make oath. Gladiators, Wrestlers, Musicians, Dancers, and Dyers in purple and other lively colours, as they usually had no wives, were looked upon with a kind of horror by the pagan Theologists. *You are fearful,* said they, *of impairing your strength, your agility, your voice, or your sight, and you lose your soul; it is betraying nature to go out of the world with-*

* *Cicero de Legibus.*

without having endeavoured to leave children behind you; you are impious wretches whom the demons wait for to torture cruelly at the bottom of Hell. The Laws of *Lycurgus** were not less rigorous against those who obstinately persevered in a life of celibacy: they were excluded from civil and military employments; they were even exposed every year to a ceremony which was very far from being agreeable; the Lacedemonian women repaired to their place of residence, the first day of Spring, and conducted them from thence to the Temple of Juno, rallying them all the way, and when they were arrived at the pedestal of the statue of that Goddess, they gave them a hearty flogging.

The excommunication of the married Clergy was more effectual, than that which was pronounced the year following by the Bishop of Laon, against the catterpillars and field-mice which had done much damage to the corn. Is it to be credited, that in the Reign of *Francis I.* these vermin were even allowed Counsel, and their cause and the farmer's oppositely pleaded?† I could quote several testimonies, but I shall rest the proof of this matter upon the sentence of the Official of Troyes in Champagne, of the 9th of July,

* *Plutarch. in Lycurg. & in Apophtegm, Athen. Lib. XIII.*

† *Theophilus Rainauld.*

July, 1516: The Parties heard, upon the rights of the petition of the inhabitants of Villenoe, we admonish the Caterpillars to retire in six days, in failure whereof we declare them damned and excommunicated.

Excommunications have been in use amongst almost every people. The Atlantes, being incommoded by the excessive heat of the Sun, paid a Priest to excommunicate him every morning. To be driven from the Synagogue, was the greatest penalty amongst the Jews. *Caesar*, talking of the Gauls (de Bell. Gall. Lib. VI.) says, that the Druids decided all causes; that whoever refused to submit to their sentences, they interdicted him the sacrifices; that those who were so interdicted, were looked upon as impious and abandoned; that they were neither allowed to plead nor give evidence in judiciary matters, and that all the world shunned them, lest fellowship and conversation with them should be the occasion of some particular misfortune: *No quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant*. We read in *Plutarch**, that the Priests *Theano* being importuned by the Athenian Senate, to pronounce maledictions against *Alcibiades*, who was accused of having mutilated some statues of *Mercury*, as he returned from a nocturnal debauch, ex-

* Vita *Alcibiad.*

cused herself by saying, *She was a Minister of the Gods, to pray and bless, but not to imprecate and curse.* Philip Augustus, wanting to divorce *Ingelburge*, in order to marry *Agnes de Meranie*, the Pope laid the Kingdom under an interdiction; the Churches were shut up for near eight months; neither Mass nor Vespers were any longer said; no marriages were celebrated; *even the works of matrimony were unlawful*; no man was allowed to lie with his wife, because the King would not lie with his, and the common course of generation must have stopt short this year in France.

A man who performed a publick penance, was suspended from all functions, civil, military, and matrimonial. He was neither to have his hair dressed, nor his beard trimmed, nor was he allowed to bath, or change his linnen: this could not fail in the end to make a very nasty Penitent. The good King *Robert* incurred the censures of the Church, for having married his cousin; there remained only two of his servants with him; they passed every thing through the fire that he had touched. In a word, an excommunicated person was looked upon in such a horrible light, that a woman of pleasure, with whom *Eudes le Pelletier* had passed a few moments, having learnt some days after, that he had been six months under the sentence of ex-
com-

communication, she was seized in such a manner that she fell into convulsions, and her life was in danger: she was cured however, by the intercession of a holy Deacon.

If a person had any civil matter to settle with the Clergy, and if they were summoned before a secular Judge, they immediately excommunicated the party and the secular Judge who dared to cite them before his Tribunal. They held forth at the same time in their sermons, that it was allowable to take away the effects of an excommunicated person, till such time as he was absolved; and this absolution was not purchased at an easy rate. These attacks upon society were so much the more dangerous, as it was the opinion of the Clergy, that the Royal authority should assist in the execution of their Censures, whilst they would not even have the King to examine whether they were justly and legally pronounced. Joinville relates, that the Prelates of France represented to St. Lewis, that he was letting Christianity go to ruin. How so, said that great King? Because, replied they, nobody is any longer solicitous whether he is absolved from excommunication, or not; therefore, Sire, order your Judges to compel every man who shall be excommunicated, to obtain an absolution within a year and a day. With all my heart, answered St. Lewis, provided

provided the Judges find the excommunication just. The Bishops pretended that Laymen were not to determine whether their Censures were just or unjust. St. Lewis declared he never would order it otherwise, as he thought he should thereby be guilty of great injustice to himself.

Bondmen.

The following Charter will point out the state of the *Serfs*, or Bondmen, in France:

“ Know, all men by these presents, that we
 “ *William*, unworthy Bishop of Paris, consent
 “ that *Odelina*, daughter of *Rodolphus Gaudin*,
 “ of the village of *Ceres**, a bond-woman of
 “ our church, wed *Birtrand*, son to the late
 “ *Hugon*, of the village of *Verrieres*, a bondman
 “ of the Abbey of *St. Germain des prez*; on
 “ condition that the children which shall issue
 “ from the said marriage, shall be divided be-
 “ ween us and the said Abbey; and that if the
 “ said *Odelina* die without issue, all her move-
 “ able and immoveable goods and chattels shall
 “ revert to us; in the same manner as all the
 “ goods and chattels moveable and immoveable
 of

* *Vuissens, Villa Ceresis*, a village where there was formerly a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*. This village is three Leagues from Paris, towards Antoni.

“ of the said *Bertrand*, shall never to the said
 “ Abbey, in case he dies without children.
 “ Given in the year twelve-hundred and sixty-
 “ two.”

As some children have better constitutions, are better made, or have more sense than others, the Lords used to cast lots for them. If there was but one child, it belonged to the mother, and consequently to her Lord; if there were three, she had two, and in case of five she had three, and so on in proportion. These bondmen, these *hommes de corps*, these *gens de poeste**, for so they were called, composed two thirds and a half of the inhabitants of the Kingdom. They could not dispose of themselves, marry out of their Lords estate, nor quit it without his leave; he was to give them away, to sell them, exchange them, and to claim them wherever they were, even if they had determined to enter themselves of the Church. § The Abbot of St. Denis was taken, in 858, by the Normans; he was ransomed for 685 livres of gold, and 3250 livres of silver, besides horses, oxen, and several bondmen of his Abbey, with their wives and children. A poor Gentleman appeared one day, with

* *Gentes de corpora & potestatis.*

§ Annal. Bened. Tom. III, L. XXXV, Num. 33.

with two daughters he had, before *Henry*, surnamed the Broad, Count of Champaign, and intreated him to give him something to enable him to marry them. *Artaud*, this Prince's Intendant, who had become rich, arrogant, and obdurate, as all Intendants are, attacked the Gentleman, telling him his master had given so much away, that he had nothing more to give: *Thou liest, villain*, says the Count, *I have not yet given thee away; thou art still mine: Take him*, adds he, addressing himself to the Gentleman, *I give him to you, and I insure him to you*. The Gentleman laid hold of his *Artaud*, carried him off, and did not release him till he had paid him 500 livres, for his daughters marriage portions.

The *Serfs* of the same estate, being obliged to marry amongst themselves, must have been therefore, more inclined to assist each other in time of sickness, and during the infirmities of old age; and as they could not go beyond the limits of this estate, vagabonds and idle people were scarce ever seen at that time in France; they were moreover excited to work by a desire of encreasing their *peculium* §, and by the hopes

* Vide *Mexeray*, Vol. II. p. 230.

§ *Peculium* is the amount of the labour, industry and saving of a person in the power of another, which the bondman is at liberty to dispose of.

hopes of being one day able to purchase their freedom. The freemen, the enfranchised people and the bondmen, who resided in the Cities, cultivated the arts and sciences, carried on trade, or worked at the Manufactures.

Lewis the Fat, was the first of her Kings who began to enfranchise bondmen, in the Cities and large Boroughs of his Domain, that is to say, they were no longer *tied* to the place of their nativity (*Addicti gloriæ*) but were allowed to settle where ever they thought proper. By degrees the greater part of the Lords, that they might the better equip themselves during the rage of the Croisades, or ruined perhaps, by those wars beyond sea, also enfranchised their subjects on paying large sums, which they drew from them. Liberty, if we may credit the Historians, served only to give the greatest part of these new freemen a distaste to work, to render them insolent and lazy, and to convert them into vagabonds and thieves.

It was at this period that the four orders of Mendicants (the Dominicans, the Cordeliers, the Carmelites, and the Augustins) began to be formed and established.

Mar-

Marriages.

The desire of being married and having children, was probably looked upon as less honourable than that of killing a man. We have seen in the first Volume, that in the houses of the Bishops and Abbots, and in the Cloisters of the Chapters of Notre-Dame, St. Merri, and others, there was a Court allotted * for duelling. They allowed duels even between cousins-german, whilst they anathematized, and annulled marriages between relations, not only in the fourth, but even to the seventh degree. Absolution and the Communion were administered to two men who had asked to fight a duel, and who were going to cut each other's throats, whilst a husband and his wife were not to be admitted to the Sacraments till after an abstinence from conjugal duty, for at least eight days. The Bishops, Abbots, and other ecclesiastical Lords, enfranchised such Champion as had fought for them three times with success, that is to say, who had killed or knocked three men on the head, whilst in their sermons they endeavoured to brand with infamy those who even married three different times. A Priest having wore some favours upon his sleeve, at his brother's wedding,

* *Vide* Le vrai Théâtre d'Honneur, par la Colombiere. p. 204.

wedding, was suspended for six months by his Bishop, whilst at the duel of *Jarnac*, and *de la Chataigneraye*, the relations of each Champion, whether Laymen or Ecclesiastics were distinguished by cockades and ribbons of different colours. *Jarnac's* partisans wore black, and those of *Chataigneraye* had grey and blue cockades.

The prohibition of marriages between relations, as far as the seventh degree of kindred, must have been extremely embarrassing; if it is true, that according to the rule of redoubled multiplication, thirty-two thousand persons have contributed to the production of a single one, without going any farther back, than to the fifteenth degree of his genealogy.

Lewis XIV. who was convinced that the strength and advantages of Monarchy consist in the multiplicity of its subjects, assigned in 1666, a pension of 2000 livres, from the public treasury, to such Noblemen as should have twelve children, who did not become Ecclesiastics; and as to Plebeians, who should have the same number of children, who likewise did not become Ecclesiastics, he ordered them to be exempted from all Taxes, Imposts, and quartering of soldiers. This wise regulation was not put in execution: neither have those been executed which were so frequently renewed by our Kings of

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the first, second, and third Race, *not to receive any person into religious Orders, before he or she had attained to the age of twenty-five years.*

This grieves every good Citizen; but in France, when such a one has a mind to consider and reflect, he will often find himself under the necessity of either grieving or laughing. For instance, is it not pleasant to see religious Communities fed and pampered, just as if they were particular bodies in the State, set apart for the purpose of population? It is not to be questioned, that the oily substance of fish is more proper for this business, than that of meat, and that in an Island where the Inhabitants fed upon nothing but fish, a ninth part more children would be born, than in an Island where nothing was eaten but meat.

In the first ages of the Church, it was called a *work of mercy*, when a man married a girl who had lived a disorderly life.

I shall dismiss this article upon marriages, with a reflexion that should not seem foreign to the subject. Why should it be customary to despise a cuckold, when his being so is not his own fault? I believe I have found out the reason: it is because this situation particularly denoted a man of mean condition, as we find several Lords,

Lords, and amongst others the Cannons of the Cathedral of Lyons, claimed a right to lie the first night of the nuptials, with their Bondmen's wives.

The creation of Nobility.

The civil wars amongst the Sons of *Lewis le Debonnaire*, were very bloody. It is said, that at the single battle of Fontenai, in 841, there were near 100,000 Frenchmen slain, and that more than two thirds of the Nobility of Champagne perished at the same time; that *Charles the Bald*, to repair this loss in some measure, granted to such young women of noble families in this Province, as married Plebeians, the privilege of ennobling their husbands. *Those are held noble*, says the ancient custom of Champaign and Brie, *who are the issue of either a noble father or mother.* This Nobility which the mother transmitted to her descendants, did not begin to be called in question till the year 1566; when the King's *Procureur* of the Court of Aides of Paris, alledged that this custom had been tolerated by necessity, and to fill the Country with Nobility, but that the cause having ceased, the effect should cease likewise.

I do not know a more flattering or a finer title to Nobility, than that which the descendants of *Ann Musnier* produced, at the reformation. Three men, whilst they were waiting in an alley of the Count of Champaign's garden, for that Prince's rising, were consulting together upon a plot they had laid for assassinating him. *Ann Musnier*, who was concealed behind a tree, overheard part of their conversation : seeing them withdraw, and shocked at the thoughts of a design against her Prince's life, or fearful perhaps, that she should not have time enough to acquaint him of it, she called out from the other end of the walk, and beckoned to them, that she wanted to speak with them. One of them advanced towards her ; she stabbed him with a large kitchen knife, and he fell at her feet : she then defended herself against the other two, and received several wounds. By this time people came to her assistance ; and in searching these villains, there were found upon them presumptive proofs of a conspiracy. They confessed the whole, when put to the torture, and were quartered. *Ann Musnier*, *Gerard de Langres* her husband, and their descendants were ennobled.

In an Information of the 1st. December, 1446, to prove the nobility of *Perette Bureau*, who was married to *John le Gras*, it was held forth,

forth,* that she had been carried to Church upon a hand-barrow, with a faggot of thorns and juniper, as anciently used to be done to Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, which ceremony is never practised for those who are not noble, such being neither carried on their wedding day, nor on the succeeding one, upon a hand-barrow with a faggot of thorns and juniper.

Coats of Arms.

“ In Escutcheons and Coats of Arms, says Agrippa, (*De Vanitate Scientiarum*, cap. 81.) “ it would not be proper to see a fowl, a goose, “ a duck, a calf, a lamb, or any other animal “ that is gentle and useful to human life; the “ marks and signs of nobility must have some “ ferocious and carnavorous beasts in them.”

Every people have had their national Symbols, figures and ensigns. The Athenians had their owl; the Thracians adopted the figure of death; the Celtæ a sword; the Romans an eagle; the Carthaginians a horse's head; the Saxons a galloping courser; the first French a lion, and the Goths a bear. Amongst the Romans every Legion had its particular symbol; the *Thundering Legion*, and the *Draconarii*, were so called, because the soldiers of the one, had a thunder-bolt

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paint-

* *Traité de la Noblesse, par de la Roque, p. 165.*

painted upon their shields, and those of the other a dragon.

The Druids of the College of Autun, had for their banner (probably on account of the virtue they attributed to a serpent's egg,) a field azure, with a serpent Argent couchant, surmounted with a sprig of milletoe, and ornamented with acorns-vert. The Symbols of the chief Druid were keys *.

The Germans, says *Tacitus* (*De Morib. German. cap. 7.*) carried with them to the wars, certain colours and devices, which were deposited in time of peace, in the sacred woods. Our Kings went in the same manner, and took the hood of St. Martin, from his tomb, with the Oriflamme, or banner of the Abbey of St. Denis, both of which they replaced, when the war was at an end.

“ Let our Intendants, says *Charles the Bald*,
 “ in his Capitularies, take care that every Bi-
 “ shop, Abbot, and Abbess, cause their Vassals
 “ to march with all warlike accoutrements, their
 “ ensign-bearer, (*Guntfanonarius*).” In the Reign
 of *Lewis the Fat*, it was ordered, that the
 Cities and large Boroughs should raise troops
 of shopkeepers, who were to march to the
 army by Parishes, with the Curates at their
 head,

* Religion des Gaulois, Tom. I. p. 215.

head, bearing the standards of their respective Churches.

Besides the hood of St. Martin and the banner of St. Denis, there was also the Royal standard; but its figures, emblems and devices were not fixed; every King changed them, and invented new ones, frequently very different from those of his Predecessor. *What do we see, says le Gendre, (Mœurs des François, p. 89.) upon the seals of our ancient Kings? Their portraits, Church porches, crosses, and heads of Saints.* It is certain, there are no vestiges of flowers de luce to be found, either in stone or metal, nor upon medals or seals, before the time of *Lewis the Young*. It was in his Reign about the year 1147, that the Escutcheons of France began to be charged with Lilies, and that the arms which the Princes, Barons, and Gentlemen took for the second Croisade, began likewise to be fixed and hereditary, and to be marks of distinction for particular families.

All Historians relate, that in 1085, *Robert*, eldest son to *William the Conqueror*, having rebelled against his father, gave him so violent a blow with a lance, in a rencounter, that he dismounted him; that by some words which *William* uttered when he was falling, *Robert* having discovered him to be his father, he threw himself

upon the ground, and with tears in his eyes asked his pardon, and helped him to get up. This proves that at that time, ensigns armorial were not fixed, and hereditary; for when they afterwards became so, every body affected to wear them, and to place them in a conspicuous point of view upon the coat of arms and shield; particularly Kings and Princes, that all the world might see they wanted to be known, and were not afraid of being singled out by the enemy. The coat of arms of our Kings was blue, sown with Flower de luce Or; they wore a white scarf. From time immemorial, white has been the characteristic colour of our Nation, as red seems always to have been that of England.

It was in the Reign of *Charles V.* that the Flower de luce, which were formerly innumerable in the standard of France, were first reduced to three.

Liveries.

Coats of arms being fixed and hereditary, occasioned the introduction of Liveries, and as every one pleased his own fancy in chusing his Atchievement, so Livries were in the same manner composed and arranged. I said above, that ensigns armorial were placed upon the coat of
arms

arms and shield ; besides which a scarf was also wore, the colour whereof determined of what province any one was a native. The scarves of the Counts of Flanders were of deep green, and those of the Counts of Anjou light green ; the Dukes of Burgundy wore red ; the Counts of Blois and Champaign azure and blue ; the Dukes of Lorraine yellow, and the Dukes of Brittany black and white. The Vassals of these different Princes, had likewise different scarves, and those amongst these Vassals, who were allied to their Princes, or filled some considerable post under them, blended by way of compliment with their own particular Livries, a little binding of lace, of various breadths, and of the colour of their Lords livery. Hence it is, that we so commonly observe a deep green in the liveries of the Nobility of Flanders, and of the one half of Picardy ; a light green in the liveries of the Nobility of Anjou, and red in the liveries of the Nobility of Burgundy ; azure and blue in the liveries of the Nobility of Bleffis and Champaign ; yellow in the liveries of the Nobility of Lorraine and the Duchy of Bar ; and black in the liveries of the Nobility of Brittany. The Nobility in the environs of Paris, who held immediately of the King, have blue usually intermixed in their liveries, because blue was the colour of our Kings.

It will doubtless be asked, why both white and red are introduced into the Royal livery. The reason is, because white, as I have already observed, has been from time immemorial, the leading and characteristic colour of the Nation; and with respect to red, our Kings when they had a great Court, were dressed in a large red cassock, under a blue cloak ornamented with *Flowers de luce*.

The Champions at Tournaments were not obliged to wear their own liveries; they were at liberty to appear in what whimsical ones they pleased, and these were usually fixed upon, according to the favourite colours of their Ladies.

Noblemen and Tradesmen, out of devotion to some Saint, often made themselves Bondmen of the Church dedicated to him, and no longer appeared in any other dress than a little doublet of the colour of his banner, with an iron ring round their wrist or ankle. It is highly credible, that by a profane imitation of this custom, some tender Knight, to testify his amorous servitude, invented those bracelets or rings of coloured lace, which are wore round the arm, and serve as an ornament to several liveries.

Twice a year the King distributed red cloaks lined with ermine or white and grey fur, to the Knights whom he kept near his person, to administer

minister justice, and assist him with their Counsel in affairs of State ; these cloaks were called *livery Robes*. *John Vignerot* having received several wounds at the battle of Courtrai, in 1302, and having been trampled for a considerable time under the horses feet, languished for four years : *Though this Knight could neither arm himself, nor mount on horseback, nor try a cause, yet Philip the Fair, was willing that he should still continue to share of the livery Robes.*

Of some Fashions and Dresses.

Upwards of 400,000 Frenchmen perished in the Croisades, but we brought back with us from these wars, a variety of fashions, and amongst others that of dressing in long coats. In the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th Centuries, it was customary to wear a cassock that reached down to the ground. The Nobles fancied, that adding a long train to this cassock would furnish a pretext for getting some one to carry it, and that the abject employment of such a person, would give consequence and an air of distinction to the Master.

None but *Knights* had the privilege of wearing a cloak over the cassock. The sleeves of the cloak being very wide and ample, were

tied up before at the bending of the arm, and hung down behind as low as the ham. These cloaks were made of the finest stuffs, and were lined with ermine, sable, and white and grey furs. Even a Prince and his wife could not wear gold upon their cloaths, till such time as he was Knighted.

For upwards of three centuries, the French had the external appearance of peaceable Citizens and good Compatriots. No swords were wore: a long purse hanging down from the girdle was a mark of Nobility. Those rods of iron which we now wear by our sides, give us the appearance of a turbulent people.

They covered their heads with a hood, or kind of capuchin, with a roll, a top and tail hanging behind; it was usually made of the same kind of stuff as the cloak or cassock, and was trimmed with the same sort of skin. It has since become the Epitogium of the Presidents à *Mortier*, the amefs of the Canons, and the *chauffe* of the Advocates, Counsellors, Doctors, and Professors of the University. Thus the Presidents à *Mortier* wear their ancient cap round their neck; the Canons upon their arm; and the Advocates, Counsellors, and Doctors upon their shoulders.

In

In the Reign of *Charles V.* they wore emblazoned coats, i. e. coats daubed over with all the pieces of their Escutcheons.

In the Reign of *Charles VI.* the *bipartite habit* was invented, which resembled a Vergers coat, being of two different colours. We find in a Journal of those times, "that on the 17th of October, 1409, the Sire *John de Montagu* * was conducted from the little Chatelet to the Halles, being seated high in a cart, and dressed in his livery, viz. a great-coat half red and half white, and a hood of the same, with a red buskin and a white one, gilt spurs, his hands tied, and two trumpets before him; and that after his head was cut off, his body was carried to the Gibbet of Paris, and was there hung up with his buskins and gilt spurs.

In the Reign of *Francis I.* not contented with throwing off the voluminous long dress, they run into the opposite extreme. In some tapistry of that time, this Prince and his Courtiers are re-

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* He was Grand Master of the King's Household, and Superintendant of the Finances. Father *Dubreuil* says, that his body was carried to Montfaucon, in a sack, filled with spices, which were furnished by the Celestins, in order to preserve it till such time as they were allowed to bury it. See the Journal de Paris, sous le regne de *Charles VI.* & *Charles VII.* p. 3.

presented in the dress of Pantaloons, that is to say, in a doublet with short skirts and with breeches and stockings all of a piece. This dress set so close upon the body, and displayed the mouldings of it so very exactly, that it was quite indecent. The graver sort of people adopted the wide breeches of the Swiss, and the younger sort invented the *Trousses*, which were a kind of breeches short and turned up, that reached no lower down than the middle of the thigh, and was covered with a half petticoat; so in the Reigns of *Henry II.* *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* except the little cloak which running footmen do not wear, they were in every respect dressed as these are now; and they moreover wore little caps whereon the arms were embroidered. In the army these caps were wore with deep crowns, which covered the greater part of the head; at Court and in the City, they were placed over the right ear; the left ear, which remained bare, was ornamented with a pearl drop ear-ring. D C

The Women in the Reign of *Charles VI.* had their heads dressed in a high cap, in the form of a sugar-loaf; a veil was tied to the top of this cap, and hung down more or less according to the quality of the wearer. The veil of a tradesman's wife did not descend below the shoulders; that

that of a Knight's lady, reached to the ground.-- In the Reigns of *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* they wore little hats with a feather. From the time of *Henry II.* to the Reign of *Henry IV.* they wore little caps with an aigrette.

In the Reign of *Francis II.* the men discovered, that a large belly gave a majestic air, and the women immediately fancied that a broad bottom was of equal dignity. False bellies and false backslides were therefore wore, and this ridiculous fashion lasted three or four years. What is most remarkable is, that as soon as it took place, the women seemed no longer solicitous about their faces, and began to hide them; they wore a vizor, and were no more seen, either in the streets, in the walks, a visiting, or even at Church, but in masks. Patches succeeded the vizor, and it is said they were put on in such numbers, that the face could hardly be known. With respect to *Rouge*, I shall observe, that Generals used it * when they made their triumphal entry into Rome; and a pretty woman may fancy every day to be a day of triumph for her.

Beards.

* *Servius. in Virg. Ec. VI.*

Beards.

It is a certain principle that every Frenchman was a Soldier; that if he followed any other calling, he ceased to be a Frenchman; and that to point him out as being no longer of the nation, he was obliged to cut his beard and hair, which were the distinguishing marks between a Frenchman, and the conquered people. Young men wore only whiskers.

Alaric, King of the Visigoths, being apprehensive of an attack from *Clovis*, and wanting to amuse him with fine expectations, desired an interview with him for the sake of touching his beard*, or adopting him; for the person adopted was taken by the beard or whisker. *Eginard*, *Charlemain's* Secretary, speaking of the last Kings of the first Race, says, that they came to the assemblies in the Field of Mars, in a chariot drawn by oxen, and that they were seated upon the Throne, with long flowing hair, and a beard that reached down to their stomach; *crine profuso, barbâ submissâ*.

Robert, (the Grand-father of *Hugh Capet*) whom *Charles* the Simple killed with his own hand, for his having meditated to rob him of the crown, † had in the beginning of the battle, let his great

* *Faubet*, C. XXI.

† *Vide Mémoires*, Tom. I. p. 635.

great white beard fall beneath the vizor of his helmet, that he might be known by his own people. This is a proof that long beards were wore under the second Race, and the custom continued under the first Kings of the third Race. *Hugh, Count of Chalons, having been vanquished by Richard, Duke of Normandy, went and threw himself at his feet, with a saddle upon his back, to shew that he submitted entirely to him: with his long beard, says the Chronicle, he had more the appearance of a goat than a horse.*

Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Archbishop of Rouen declared * war against long hair: several Bishops joined him, and it was enacted in a Council of the year 1096, *that those who wore long hair, should be excluded from the Church during their lives, and should not be prayed for after death.* This step differently affected different minds: it occasioned so much disturbance, invective and keen dispute, for several years, that the opposite parties may both brag of having had martyrs in their cause.

About the year 1146, upon the representations of the celebrated *Peter Lombard*, who was afterwards Bishop of Paris, *Lewis VII.* thought it a matter of conscience § to give an exam-

* Hist. des Archevêques de Rouen, par P. Pomeroye, C. VIII.

§ Vid. Rob. Cenalis, Hist. Gallica.

example of submission to the commands of the Bishops, on the subject of long hair, he did not only shorten that, but even shaved his beard. *Leonora* of Aquitaine, a vivacious, flighty, jocular Princess, whom he had married, rallied him upon his short hair and shaven chin; he devoutly replied to her, that those things were not to be jested with. A woman who once begins to find her husband ridiculous, seldom hesitates about affairs of gallantry, if she has the least turn that way. *Leonora* had pleasure in the love and assiduities of the Prince of Antioch. *Lewis VII.* perceived it, and repented having carried her into Syria. Upon his return from the Croisade, he upbraided her in the sharpest manner; she replied with much haughtiness, and concluded with proposing a divorce to him, adding, that she knew how to procure one, *as a trick had been put upon her; for that she thought to have married a Prince, and she had wedded nothing but a Monk* *. The misunderstanding betwixt them unhappily increased, and their marriage was dissolved. Six weeks after she was espoused to *Henry*, Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, and afterwards King of England, who obtained with her, by way of dower, Poitou and Guyenne. Hence

* *Mexicrai*, Vol. II. p. 103.

arose those wars which ravaged France for 300 years. Upwards of three millions of Frenchmen perished, because an Archbishop was offended with long hair; because a King had cut his hair and shaved his beard, and because his wife looked upon him as ridiculous with his short hair and shaven chin.

Francis I. having been wounded on Epiphany's day, 1521, by a firebrand, carelessly thrown from a window, was obliged to have his hair cut off. Fearful lest he should have the air of a Monk, with the hood of that time, his head shaved and no beard, he thought of wearing a hat, and letting his beard grow. Long beards, then, once more came in fashion, and continued so during the Reigns of *Henry II.* *Francis II.* *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.*

In 1526, *Francis Olivier*, who was afterwards Chancellor, could not be admitted Master of Requests in Parliament, without having his long beard shaved, *if he wanted to assist at the pleadings.* *Peter Lenot*, in 1556, being appointed to a Canonship of Notre-Dame, the Chapter objected for a very considerable time against his long beard, but consented at last, that he should be received without having it cut off, *though this was derogating from the Statutes of the Church.* These two examples

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demonstrate, that every body in France, except Ecclesiastics and Magistrates, then wore long beards. It must have been very pleasant, says the Abbé de St. Real, (*De l'usage de l'Histoire*, Disc. 5.) to see all the gay and warlike youth of the Court of Francis I. with as long beards as they could possibly have, whilst the Gentlemen of the grand Chamber were shaved, as the Minions of Henry II. were afterwards. The Abbé de St. Real, is mistaken. The Dukes of Joyeuse, d'Epemon, Quelus, S. Maigrin, and other Courtiers, or Mignons of Henry III. were not shaved; it is certain that they wore long beards, as was done in the Reign of Francis I. and Henry II. As to the shaved chins of the Gentlemen of the grand Chamber, these are my sentiments: We have seen that Lewis XII. left off wearing a long beard about the year 1465, and that it came in fashion again in 1521. The Parliament were doubtless of opinion, that they ought not to conform to this new mode, which was at first followed by none but Courtiers, as it would have been affecting their airs; and in those times, a Magistrate who affected the Court fashions, and was often seen there, was thought to be sold, or ready to sell himself for favours. The King's servants, in the Reign of Henry II. having

having represented to the Chambers assembled, that certain Officers belonging to the Parliament had appeared too busy at the Louvre, all Magistrates were forbid to attend the King or his Ministers without leave, *that they might not come to play the Courtier amongst Magistrates, after having been acting the Magistrate amongst Courtiers.*

In the Reign of *Henry IV.* the beard was shortened; it was worn only three fingers in length under the chin, in the shape of a fan, rounded, and set off with two long stiff whiskers, in the manner of a cat's beard. Afterwards, only the two whiskers were retained, with a little toupee of hair in the middle, and quite round the under lip. Marshal *Bassompierre* said, that all the alteration he had found in the world after twelve years imprisonment, was that the men had lost their beards, and the horses their tails. The *Royal* was for a considerable time the fashionable whisker, in the Reign of *Lewis XIV.*

Whilst the *fan beards* were in vogue, they were kept in that form, with preparations of wax, which gave the hair an agreeable smell, and the colour that was desired. The beard was dressed over night, and that it might not get out of order whilst the person was asleep, it

it was inclosed in a *bigotelle* *, or kind of bag made on purpose.

Festivals and Diversions.

It was in those Assemblies called *Cours plénieres*, (full Courts) that the magnificence of our Kings was displayed. These Assemblies, to which all the Nobility were invited, were held twice † a year, at Easter, and on All Saint's day, or at Christmas. For seven or eight days that they continued, the King dressed in all the pomp of Majesty, eat in public, with the Crown on his head, and never quitted it, but when he retired to rest. The Lords temporal and spiritual were at his table. The Constable and other great Officers, received and served

* The bag which the Devotees hung at their girdle to distribute alms, was also called *bigotella*.

† Our Kings also held *Cours plénieres*, at their Coronation, upon their Marriage, at the Baptism of their Children, and when they created them Knights. These Festivals did not fail to attract a great number of quacks, jugglers, rope dancers, merry Andrews and Mimes. The merry Andrews told stories, those who were called jugglers, played upon a cymbal, whilst monkeys, dogs, and bears danced. It is said that the Mimes excelled in their Art, and that by their gestures, attitudes, and postures, they expressed a passage in History, as clearly and pathetically, as if they had recited it.

up the dishes on horseback. At the Dinner of the Inauguration of *Charles VI.* says *Froissart*, (Tom. II. cap. 6.) the Dukes of Brabant, Anjou, Berri, Burgundy and Bourbon, that Prince's uncles, were seated at table at a good distance from him, with the Archbishop of Rheims, and other Prelates upon his right hand. The Sires de Couci, de Clifson, de la Trimouille, the sea Admiral and others, served upon high horses, all covered and ornamented with cloth of gold. Every service was introduced to the sound of flutes and hautboys. At the *Entremets*, twenty Heralds at Arms advanced, each with a cup in his hand, filled with gold and silver pieces, which he threw to the populace, crying with a loud voice, the grand Monarch's bounty.

On Whitfunday, 1313, Philip the Fair, created his three sons Knights, with all the ceremonies of ancient Chivalry. The King and Queen of England, whom he had invited, crossed the sea on purpose, and were present at this feast, with a great number of their Barons. It lasted eight days, and the magnificence of the dresses, the sumptuousness of the feasts, and the variety of the diversions, rendered it one of the most superb and entertaining Festivals ever known. * *The Princes and Lords chan-*

* Hist. de Paris, Tom. I. p. 552.

ged their dress thrice a day. The Parisians represented several shews; at one time the glory of the blessed; at another the torments of the damned; then various sorts of animals: This last representation was called the procession of the Fox.

* Will it be credited that in several Cathedrals, the procession of the Ass was exhibited? The Sub-Deacons, and Children of the Choir, after having decorated an Ass's back with a large hood †, went and received him at the Church porch, singing a ridiculous Anthem, which contained a verse to this purpose, *that the virtue of an Ass had enriched the Clergy.*

Aurum de Arabia,

Thus & Myrrham de Saba

Tulit in Ecclesia

Virtus Asinaria †.

To return to the Court feasts, the name of *Entremets* § was given to those decorations which were

* Vide Mss. *Baluze*, the King's Library.

† *Registre de la Cathedrale d'Autun.*

‡ *Memoire pour servir à l'Histoire de la fête des Foux,*
p. 25.

§ *Entremets*, were so called, because they were invented to amuse the guests, during the Intervals of the Services of a grand Feast. This word has also been long in use in theatrical Representations, instead of the word *Interlude*.

were moved about the Salloon, representing Cities, Castles, and Gardens, with fountains of all kinds of liquor. * When our King *Charles V.* gave a dinner to the Emperor *Charles IV.* in 1378, after Mass was celebrated, the guests were conducted by the Gallery *des Merciers*, into the great Hall of the Palace, where the tables were laid. The King seated himself betwixt the Emperor and the King of the Romans. There were three large Buffets, the first set out with gold plate, the second with silver gilt plate, and the third with silver plate. Towards the end of the Dinner, the *Entremets* began. § A ship with masts, sails, and rigging was seen first; she had for colours the arms of the City of Jerusalem: *Godfrey de Bonillon* appeared upon deck, accompanied by several Knights armed cap-à-pee. The ship advanced into the middle of the Hall, without the machine, which set it in motion, being perceptible. Then the City of Jerusalem appeared, with all its Towers lined with Saracens. The ship approached the City; the Christians landed and began the assault; the besieged made a good defence; several scaling ladders were thrown down; but at length the City was taken. Dinner being finished, the apparatus for

• Hist. d'Allemagne, par le P. *Barrs.*

§ *Christine de Pisan*, C. XLI. Partie 3me.

washing was introduced, and the King and Emperor washed together. Then, according to ancient custom, wine, spices, or comfits were set upon the table.

Charles IX. having gone to dine with a Gentleman near Carcassonne, the ceiling opened at the end of the Repast, a thick cloud descended, and burst with an explosion like that of thunder, when there fell a shower of sugar plums in the form of hail, followed by a gentle dew of perfumed water.

The inhabitants of the Cities through which the King passed, endeavoured, as they do at present, to display their genius and joy, by devices, emblems, and allegorical figures. Upon the entry of Lewis XI. into Tournay, in the year 1463, * the prettiest girl of the City descended from the top of the gate by a machine; who, in saluting the King, opened her robe before her bosom, where there was a heart very finely shaped; which heart parted asunder, and a large Flower de luce issued forth, which she presented to the King in the name of the City, saying: Sire, I am a Virgin, and so is the City †, for it never was taken, nor ever turned against the Kings of France, every

* Monstrelet, Vol. III. p. 101.

† Tournai, which France was inclinable to cede to the House of Austria, was the cradle of the French, and of the Monarchy in Gaul.

every one of its inhabitants having a *Flower de luce* in his heart.

For the seven or eight days that the *Cours plenieres* continued, there were tilting and tournaments, and a ball after supper. *Lewis XII.* held *Cours plenieres* at Milan *, in 1501, where there were very magnificent Balls, at which the Cardinals de Narbonne and St. Severin danced †. Cardinal *Palavicini* relates, that in 1562, the Fathers assembled at the Council of Trente, deliberated upon giving a ball to *Philip II.* King of Spain; that all the Ladies of the City were invited to it; that Cardinal de Mantoué opened the ball, and that *Philip II.* and all the Fathers of the Council danced.

Our Kings used to take delight in making wild beasts fight together. The Monk of St. Gal relates, that in the court of the Abbey de Ferrieres, at a battle between a Lion and a Bull, *Pepin the Short*, who knew there were some Lads that were merry upon his low stature, asked them, *which amongst you finds himself courageous enough, to go and kill, or separate, those terrible animals?* Perceiving that no one offered himself, and that the very proposal made them tremble,

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* Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise.

† Abrégé Chronologique de St. Remuold, Religieux Feuillant.

well then, added he, *I will go.* He went down from his seat, drew his sabre, killed the Lion, struck off the bull's head with another stroke, and afterwards looking sternly at the jokers, *Learn,* said he, *that stature adds nothing to courage, and that I can overthrow those haughty men who dare to despise me, just as little David overthrew the giant Goliath.* It seems the truth of this affair was not questioned, when the porch of Notre-Dame was erected: we there see the Statue of King *Pepin*, sword in hand, over a Lion.

Francis I. being at Amboise, amongst other amusements with which he wanted to divert the Ladies, proposed to take one of the most enormous bears of the forest alive. This animal *, which was brought into the Court yard of the Castle, becoming furious from little darts and wisps of straw which were lanced at him from the windows, run up the great stair-case, and broke into the Ladies Apartment. *Francis I.* forbid any one to approach the bear, but waiting for him, sheathed his cutlass in his head between his eyes, and when he fell, turned him on the other side with only his hand: this Prince was at that time no more than 25 years of age.

Facts.

* Hist. Mss. de la Touraine, the King's Library.

Fools.

In the Archives of the City of Troye, in Champagne, a Letter of *Charles V.* is preserved, wherein he acquaints the Mayor and Sheriffs, that his fool is dead, and that they must send him another, according to custom. Our Kings kept fools, who were titular officers, and what is very remarkable, they erected monuments to their memory. In the Registers of the Chamber of Accounts may be seen *, that this same *Charles V.* this wise Prince, caused a tomb to be erected for one of his fools, in the Church of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois; and that he had a similar one erected to the memory of *Thevenin*, another of his fools, in the Church of St. Maurice de Senlis. It is composed, says *Sauval*, of a tomb of free-stone, 8 feet and a half in length, by 4 and a half in breadth. In the middle is a figure dressed in a long habit, lying upon one side, the feet of which are of alabaster inlaid, as is likewise the face. The head is dressed in a leathern cap which ends in a tuft; the shoulders are covered with a frock made in the shape of a capuchin; there are two bags upon the bosom, and a play-thing in the hand. There are a great number of little figures cut with incredible delicacy and patience, in niches round this tomb.

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* *Sauval*, Tom. I. p. 331, and Tom. III. p. 34.

An Epitaph is inscribed upon it to the following purpose.

Here lies Thevenin de St. Legier, Fool to our Lord the King, who departed this life, July 11th. in the year of grace 1374. Pray to God for his Soul.

Funerals.

Before I enter upon the subject of Funerals, I shall say something of Christenings. Children, and grown persons who were baptised, were dressed in white robes, which they wore for eight days. *Queen Clotilda*, says Gregory of Tours, (Lib. II. cap. 29.) *was delivered of a boy who was called Ingomer; he lived but a few days, and still were at the time of his death, the white robes which he had been dressed in at his Christening. The Church was hung with white.*

The Monk of St. Gal relates, that *Lewis le Debonnaire*, whose example was followed by the Lords of his Court, made rich presents to the Normans who desired to be baptised; that one year during the Easter holydays, these pirates came in such numbers, that there were not white robes sufficient to give to them all; that some were made in a hurry, and that a Norman Lord having looked at a robe which was brought him,

him, threw it on the ground with indignation, swearing, it was at least the twentieth time that he had come to be baptised, and that he had never been presented with such a rascally robe. Such, unfortunately, are the greatest part of the Conversions which the Missionaries glory in.

The baptismal Fonts, which are used at the Christenings of the Children of France, are kept in the Chapel of St. Vincennes. They consist of a copper vase, in the form of an antique basin, covered all over with plates of silver, whereon human figures are so artfully cut, that the copper is only seen, as it were, by threads. This vase was made, according to *Godsfrey* *, in 897; but he is mistaken; it was provided for the Christening of *Philip Augustus*, born August 12th, 1166.

At *Lewis XIV*th's Christening, *Lewis XIII*: permitted all those who had been prosecuted, for any action that was not really dishonourable, to return into the Kingdom; but they could not have their pardon confirmed, till they had previously served three successive months, at their own expence, in some Regiment. A hundred of these who composed a Company, were cut to pieces at the attack of one of the works, at the siege of Brisac.

Let

* Cérémonial François, Tom. II. p. 176.

Let us now enter upon Funerals. Gregory of Tours relates, (Lib. II. cap. 35.) that *Algaric*, King of the Visigoths, wrote to *Clovis*, *if my Brother pleases we will have an interview*. The custom therefore among Kings of giving one another the title of brother is very ancient; but they did not put on mourning for each other, unless they were near relations.

Fredegonda ordered that the same ceremonies should be observed at the funeral of her eldest son *Clodebert*, as at those of Kings: all the Lords and Ladies assisted in mourning, with their hair dishevelled, and powder'd with ashes.

The Tombs of the Kings of the first Race after *Clovis*, consisted only of a large stone hollowed deep, and covered with another in the form of a vault. There were neither figures nor epitaphs upon these stones. On the inside some Inscriptions were engraven, and here they were extravagantly * magnificent.

The

* By the 2d. Art. of the 9th Chap. of the Salique Laws, he who shall take up a Corpse to rob it, is forbid the use of fire and water. His wife was not allowed to assist him, nor to live with him, till such time as he had made the relations of the deceased such satisfaction as they desired; moreover slaves were posted, or people were hired, to watch and guard those tombs and public burying-places.

The Tomb of *Childeric II.* was discovered in 1646, in the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez, and there were found in it a belt, sword, a bit of a Diadem of golden tissue, a golden clasp, weighing about 8 ounces, a crystal vase, filled with perfumes, from which some odour still exhaled, some poignards, and several square pieces of silver, whereon was impressed the figure of a two-headed serpent *, probably to signify that this Prince was treacherously murdered. A French Lord whom he had treated very unworthily, stabbed him with the Queen his wife and their children, in the forest of Livri.

It seems they did not begin to insert Epitaphs upon the Tombs of our Kings till the time of the second Race. *Eginard* gives us that which was written in the Church of Notre-Dame of Aix-la-Chapelle, over *Charlemain's* grave. It is very simple ;

Here lies the Body of Charles the great and orthodox Emperor. He gloriously extended the Empire of the French, and reigned happily for forty-seven years. He died in the seventieth † year of his age, January 28th, 814.

E 4 His

* This Serpent has one of its heads where the tail should be; and is the symbol of treachery.

† He was 72 years of age.

His body after being embalmed, was interred in a vault: he was seated on a Throne, and I believe, is the only person that ever was buried * sitting. He was dressed in his Imperial Robes, with a hair cloth underneath; his *joyeuse* was girt by his side; this was the name of his sword. He seemed to look up to Heaven, and his head was ornamented with a golden chain in the form of a Diadem; he held a golden globe in one hand; and the other rested upon the book of the Evangelists, which was placed upon his knees; his golden scepter and shield were hung against the wall before him; the vault, after being filled with perfumes, aromatic herbs, and great treasure †, was shut and sealed up. Formerly a man was very magnificently dressed in a mighty plain tomb; now he is covered with nothing but a shroud in a tomb, whose external part is very superb.

The ancient Chronicles relate, that Charle-
main, caused the body of Roland, who was killed
at Roncevaux, in 778, to be opened and embalmed
† with balm, myrrh, and aloes. The obsequies
and

* Travellers tell us of certain people in America, who
bury their dead in this posture.

† Et repleverunt ejus sepulcrum aromatibus, & balsamo &
musco & thesauris multis in auro. Duchesne, Vol. II. p. 87.

† D. Bouquet, Vol. V. p. 307.

and services of the dead were sung by Ministers of the holy Church, with many lights. . . . the body was carried by two mules to the City of Blaye, in a gilt bier covered with rich silk drapery, and received very honourable burial, his trusty sword being placed at his head, and his Olifant * at his feet in honour of our Lord, and as a sign of his great prowess.

† At the Funeral of *Philip Augustus*, Cardinal *Conrad*, Legate from the Holy See, and *William*, Archbishop of Rheims, disputed who should have the honour of singing high Mass. To bring them to a reconciliation, it was agreed † that they should sing it together at two different Altars, and that the other Prelates, Clergy, Monks, and the Congregation, should make the responses, as if only one were officiating.

The body of *St. Lewis's* son, who died in the 16th year of his age, was first carried to *St. Denis*, and from thence to the Abbey of *Royaumont*, where it was interred. The greatest Lords of the Kingdom bore || the Coffin by turns,

E 5

upon

* This was a small horn which Paladines and Knights Errant used to wind, to call the enemy and to bid him defiance.

† *Rigord*, p. 266.

† *Hist. de Paris*, Tom. I. p. 268.

|| *Guil. Nangii, Chroniq.* p. 373.

upon their shoulders; and *Henry III.* King of England, who was then at Paris, bore it himself for some time, as a feudatory of the Crown.

At the porch of the Church of Notre-Dame, King *Philip III.* took upon his shoulders the remains of his father *St. Lewis*, and carried them as far as *St. Denis*, accompanied by the Archbishops, Bishops and Abbés, *with the mitre upon their heads, and the cross in their hands.* A cross was fixed at every place where they stopped; there were seven of these, some of which have been removed; the first was near the Corporation of *St. Chaumont*: they were a sort of stone pyramids, with the statues of the three Kings, and a crucifix at top.

Philip the Fair, son and successor of *Philip III.* fixed the seat of Parliament. It seems this Assembly begun from that time to enjoy the honour of carrying the bodies of the dead Kings, or the four corners of the pall, *The Members of Parliament bore the body of King John **, as they had been accustomed to do with the other Kings.

The body of Jane de Bourbon, wife to Charles V. (says the same Chronicle,) *was placed upon a bed covered with cloth of gold; a piece of very*

* *Mss. of Peiresc. Chronique de St. Denis.*

very fine linnen *, was spread over her face, but not so as to prevent its being seen; she held in her right hand a small rod with a rose at the end of it, and a scepter in her left; the Provost of the Merchants and Sheriffs bore a scarlet Canopy, supported by four lances; the Parliament were round the bed, and four Presidents held the corners of the cloth of gold.

At the Funeral of *Charles VI.* they thought of inclosing the body in a Coffin ‡, and of making a wax effigy dressed in the royal robes and ornaments. I cannot discover any considerable alterations from that time in the ceremonies observed in the processions and interments of our Kings.

† “The Gentlemen of the University, all the Graduates in Arts, Medecine, Law, Theology and other faculties, marched in procession. Mylord the Rector had proposed to bring the whole body of the Students, amount-

* Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denis, par D. Felibien, Lib. V. p. 289.

‡ *Charles VII.*'s Coffin was according to *Monstrelet*, made of Cypress. The Church of Notre Dame was hung with cloth, of a mixt colour between green and blue. The Abbess of Montmartre and her Nuns came out of their Convent, and saluted the body in the Village of la Chapelle. Vide *Matthieu de Couci*.

† Pompe Funebre de *Charles VIII.*

“ amounting to upwards of 25,000; but to
 “ avoid confusion, only these Graduates were
 “ allowed to walk, amounting in all to bet-
 “ ween four and five thousand.

“ The twenty-four Salt-Porters of the
 “ City, called *Hannoüars*, marched; who said
 “ that they had a privilege to carry the body of
 “ the said Lord the King *, from Paris to the
 “ hanging cross, near St. Denis; but it was
 “ told them, that the Gentlemen of the Cham-
 “ ber should carry it, without prejudice how-
 “ ever to the privileges of the said *Hannoüars*.

Upon what foundation could they lay claim to this privilege? The following is my conjecture: The art of embalming bodies was lost; they were cut to pieces and salted §, after being boiled in water ||, to separate the bones from the flesh; probably the salt-carriers were appointed

* They had carried the bodies of *Charles VI.* *Charles VII.* and *Henry IV.* *De Thou*, Tom. XV. Book III.

§ *Henry V.* King of England, and pretended King of France, dying at Vincennes, in the Month of *April*, 1422, his body was cut to pieces and boiled in a caldron, till the flesh separated from the bones. The water was thrown into a burying ground, and the bones and flesh put into a leaden coffer, with several kinds of spice, and things odoriferous and well scented. *J. Juvenal des Ursins*.

|| This water was thrown with much devotion into a burying ground.

ed for these coarse and barbarous operations, and obtained the honour of carrying these shocking fragments (which was through pride disputed) to rest.

“ * Sixteen Gentlemen of the Chamber, marched, carrying the Litter or bed of State, which consisted of a matrafs, a large Holland sheet, a large black velvet cloth containing fifty ells, and a piece of gold cloth containing twenty-five ells. Upon this bed lay the figure or effigy of the King § in wax, with the crown upon its head, a scepter in the right hand, and a rod of justice in the left; on the legs were buskins of silver stuff embroidered with gold, and the soles of crimson sattin; two large pillows of gold cloth were placed, the one under the head, and the other under the feet. The shirt was of the finest linnen, embroidered with a border of black silk; over the shirt was an under waistcoat of crimson, the sleeves of which were seen no farther down than the elbows, the

* *Pompe Funebre de Louis XII. François I. Henri II. Charles IX. & Henri IV.*

§ As soon as the King's death was confirmed by the Physicians, an application of wax was immediately made to his face in order to take off a striking resemblance. Several of these effigies are preserved in the Abbey of St. Denis.

“rest being covered with a tunic, made of sky-
 “blue sattin, richly embroidered with gold
 “and silver, and interspersed with golden Flow-
 “ers de luce; the sleeves of this tunick did not
 “extend beyond the elbows. Over the whole
 “was the Royal Mantle of crimson violet velvet
 “bordering upon blue, covered with golden
 “Flowers de luce; there were no sleeves to this
 “Mantle, which was open before and lined with
 “ermine; the cape was also of ermine, and
 “turned over about the width of ten inches.

The Coffin which contained the Body, was
 usually under the state-bed, and sometimes in a
 chariot drawn by six horses which preceded it.

“Four Presidents à Mortier, dressed in
 “their Royal robes, supported the four corners
 “of the pall of the said state-bed, and all the
 “Gentlemen of the Parliament were round it,
 “dressed in scarlet. The Canopy was bore by
 “the Provost of the Merchants and the Sheriffs.
 “The grand Equerry, having the Royal sword
 “in a sling, marched before the state-bed,
 “mounted on a steed, caparaconed with black
 “velvet, and carrying a large cross of white
 “sattin. Before the grand Equerry, marched
 “the *horse of honour*, with a velvet saddle of a
 “violet colour, gilt stirrups, and a caparason of
 “the same velvet covered with golden Flowers
 “de

“ de luce; two Equerries on foot, dressed in
 “ black, and four footmen dressed also in black
 “ and bareheaded, held up the four corners of
 “ his caparason.

This *horse of honour*, with these two Equerries, and four bare-headed footmen accompanying it, seem to me to have a good deal of resemblance to the horse and domestics which were killed and buried with the Kings of the first Race, before they had embraced Christianity. My notion will not perhaps appear so very singular, when it is considered that offerings were made of horses. In a transaction of the year 1329, between the Curates of Paris §, and the Church of St. Sepulchre, it is said that a dying person shall be at liberty to chuse his grave in that Church; but that his body shall be immediately carried to the Parish Church wherein he died, and the Curate of that Parish shall have half of the lights, *clothes and horses*, (*Pannis & equis*) which shall be presented at the offering upon the burial at St. Sepulchre's. Nangis's Continuator says, that King *John*, dying at London, *Edward III.* ordered a magnificent service for him, and presented at the offering § several valuable horses with black capar-

§ Hist. du Diocese de Paris, par l'Abbé *le Bauf*, Tom. I. p. 270.

§ *Offerens pro eo multos equos insignitos armis Francie, cum equitibus.* Guil, Nangii Continuat.

caparacons and Escutcheon of France. At the service performed at St. Denis, in 1389, for *Bertrand Duguesclin*, by order of *Charles VI.* Bishop of Auxerre, who celebrated Mass, descended from the Altar after the Gospel, and placing himself at the door of the Choir, four Knights armed cap-à-pee, and in the armour of the late Constable *Duguesclin*, whom they represented; they were followed by four others carrying his banners, and mounted upon horses caparaconed with black, with his Atchievement: They were, says the historian, the finest horses of the King's stable*. The Bishop received the present of the horses, by putting his hand upon their head; they were then led away, but a composition was afterwards to be made for the right of the Abbey to which they had devolved. The Constable *de Clisson*, and the two Marshals (*Lewis de Sancerre* and *Mouton de Blainville*) also made their offerings, accompanied by eight Lords, each bearing an Escutcheon of the Arms of the deceased, surrounded with lighted wax tapers. After these came the Duke of Touraine, brother to the King, *John*, Count de Nevers, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, the Prince of Navarre, and *Henry de Bar*, each holding a naked sword by the

* Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denis, par *D. Felibien*, Lib. VI. p. 414.

the point. In the third rank marched four other Lords, armed cap-à-pee, and conducted by eight young Equerries, some of whom carried helmets, and others Pennons and Banners of the arms of *Duguesclin*. They all went and prostrated themselves at the foot of the Altar, where they deposited *these pieces of honour*.

It is not to be doubted that these ceremonies were handed down by tradition. *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* relate, that the Gauls and Germans burned, or interred with the deceased, his arms and horses. The Druids might have saved the lives of so many poor horses, and turned them to account: Did the darkness of Paganism render them blind to their own interest?

Lewis XIII. died at St. Germain en Laye; his body was not brought to Paris; so that his funeral was not attended with all that striking and majestical pomp and parade of his predecessors; but the same ceremonies were in either respects observed at his interment. When Mass was finished, the Master of the Ceremonies introduced the first President and the Presidents *de Novion*, *de Mesmes* and *de Bailleul*, to support the four corners of the pall. Twenty-four of the Company of Scotch guards, commanded by a Lieutenant and an Exempt, having carried the body into the Vault, the King at arms approached

ed the entrance, and threw in his hood and coat of arms, and then cried with a loud voice, *Heralds at arms of France, come and do your offices.* Each of them having taken off his hood and coat of arms, and thrown them into the vault, he next ordered *Orleans*, Herald at Arms to descend, and range *all the pieces of honour*, which were to be brought to him, and which were called for in the following order;

M. de Baillon, bring the Ensign of the hundred Swiss of the guards, whereof you have charge.

M. de Baroche, Lieutenant of the King's guards, in the absence of *M. le Comte de Charost*, bring the Ensign of the hundred Archers of the guards, whereof you have charge.

M. de Rebais, in the absence of *M. de Killequier*, bring the Ensign of the hundred Archers of the Guards, whereof you have charge.

M. d'Ivoy, in the absence of *M. le Comte de Tresmes*, bring the Ensign of the hundred Archers of the guards, whereof you have charge.

M. Ceton, in the absence of *M. de Champdenier*, bring the Ensign of the hundred Archers of the Scotch guards, whereof you have charge.

The Equerry, *M. de la Boulietiere*, bring the

The

The Equerry *M. de Poitrincour*, bring the Gauntlets.

The Equerry *M. de Vantelet*, bring the King's Escutcheon.

The Equerry *M. de Belleville*, bring the Coat of Arms.

M. le Premier, bring the Helmet, with the Royal Crest.

M. de Beaumont, first carver, bring the King's Pennon.

The Grand Equerry, bring the Royal Sword.

The great and first Chamberlain, bring the Banner of France.

The Grand Master and chief of the Procession, come and do your office.

M. the Duke of Luynes, bring the rod of justice.

M. the Duke of Ventadour, bring the Royal Scepter.

M. the Duke of Ureux, bring the Royal Crown.

These three Dukes brought the rod of justice, the Scepter, and Crown, upon black velvet cushions, and the King at arms received them on a large piece of Taffety. *Orleans*, Herald at arms placed them upon the Coffin with the other pieces of honour, above specified, except the

the Royal sword, which the Grand Equerry always held by the pummel, putting only the point of it into the vault. The great Chamberlain put in only the end of the Banner of France.

Sixteen Stewards appointed for the purpose, having thrown into the vault their wands covered with crape, the Duke *de la Trimouille*, performing the functions of great Master of the King's Household for the Prince of Condé, put in the end of his wand, saying, *the King is dead*. The King at Arms turning towards the people, repeated in a loud voice, *the King is dead, the King is dead, the King is dead, let us pray for the repose of his soul*. After a pause of some moments, the Duke *de la Trimouille* said, *live the King*; and immediately thereupon, the King at Arms cried aloud, *Live the King, Live the King, Live the King* Lewis XIV. by name, *King of France and Navarre*. The grand Chamberlain raised again the Banner of France; the grand Equerry, the Royal sword; and the grand Master of the King's Household, his wand; the Church re-echoed with the sound of trumpets, kettle drums, fifes and hautboys; every one retired and went to dinner. The Dean of the King's Almoners (in the place of the grand Almoner) said grace at the tables of the grand Master and Parliament, and after giving

giving thanks, the King's music sung a *Laudate*, at the end of the same tables. Last of all, the Prince of Condé, as Grand Master, in presence of the Parliament, summoned all the Officers of the King's household, and broke his wand *, saying to those Officers that the house was broke up, and that they were now to provide for themselves; promising them at the same time his good offices with their new master, and that he would endeavour to re-establish them in their former posts and employments.

The funerals of our Kings do not usually take place till forty days after their decease; their effigy in wax is, during these forty days, exposed to the sight of the people, upon a bed of state §, and in all the grandeur of majesty; their tables continue to be served at the hours of repast, as if they were still living: “ the table
“ being decked by the Officers of the wood-
“ yard, and the service brought by the Gentle-
“ men in waiting, the Pantler ||, Cup-bearer,
“ and

* The grand Almoner, says M. de Thou, (Tom. XV. Lib. III. p. 112, &c.) said a prayer before and after the repast, at the Parliament's table; and the grand Master of the King's household there, broke his wand, to signify that the functions of his office were at an end by the death and burial of the King; he afterwards took up another wand, and caused the Herald to cry, *Live the King*.

§ The body is underneath, embalmed in a leaden Coffin.

|| Memoire de l'Etat de France, P. III, p. 374.

“ and Carver, with the Usher marching before
 “ them, followed by the Officers of the retreat
 “ of the goblet, who cover the table with the
 “ usual bows and formalities; then after the
 “ bread is eat and prepared, and the meat and
 “ service conducted by an Usher, a Maitre d’Ho-
 “ tel, a Pantler, Pages of the Chamber, an
 “ Equerry of the Kitchen, and Keeper of the
 “ Plate; the napkin for wiping hands is present-
 “ ed by the said Maitre d’Hôtel to the most
 “ considerable Lord present, that he may offer
 “ the same to the Lord the King; the table is
 “ blessed by a Cardinal or other Prelate; the
 “ water basons to wash are presented at the arm
 “ chair of the said Lord the King, as if he was
 “ still living and seated therein; the three ser-
 “ vices of the said table are continued with the
 “ same formalities, ceremonies, and homage,
 “ not forgetting to tender the Cup at the times
 “ the said Lord the King used to drink during
 “ his life: the repast is finished in the usual
 “ manner, by bringing him water, and grace
 “ is said according to custom, save only that
 “ the *De profundis* is added.”

All this ceremony was, doubtless, dictated
 by our love for our Kings. We endeavour to
 divert our sorrow; and fancy that we bring them

to

to life again, by continuing to serve them, when they no longer exist.

* At the funeral ceremonies of the Romans, a Mime was engaged, who was nearly of the same height and figure as the deceased, and who sometimes counterfeited so well his air, countenance, gestures, that it seemed as if he himself walked in the procession.

Amongst the accounts of expence of the house of Polignac, in the year 1375, we find an article of *five sols paid to Blaife, for having personated the deceased Knight, at the interment of John, son to Randonnet Armand, Viscount of Polignac.*

Such Knights as died in their beds, were represented upon their Tombs, without a sword, and their coat of arms without a belt, with their eyes closed, and their feet supported upon the back of a greyhound; whereas Knights that were slain in battle, were represented with a drawn sword in their hand, a shield upon their left arm, a helmet upon their head with the visor down, the coat of arms belted on the armour with a sash or belt, and a lion at their feet.

I do not know whether a Canon, who is frequently mentioned in the Registers of the Cathedral of Evreux, under the name of *John Bouteille*, died

* Suet. in *Vespasian*.

died with a bottle in his hand; but we see by these Registers, that he founded a Dirge, accompanied with a very particular ceremony: * whilst this Dirge was singing, a pall was extended upon the pavement, in the middle of the choir, at the four corners of which were placed four bottles filled with the best wine, and a fifth in the middle, all for the benefit of the singers who assisted at this service.

Lewis de Beaumont de la Forest, Bishop of Paris, who died in 1492, desired § by his will, that the grave wherein he should be buried in the Cathedral, might be filled with earth brought from the Church-yard des Innocens. This doubtless was from a principal of humility, can there be any sort of pride in rotting in any soil whatever?

If through love or respect, the table of a dead man continued to be served; sometimes, on the other hand, out of disrespect, a man was buried whilst alive. In 1523, Captain *Fraugot*, Governor of Fonrarabia, having shamefully given up that place to the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded from his Nobility. He was armed cap-à-pee, and was obliged to mount upon a scaffold, where 12 Priests, seated in

* *Memoire pour servir à la fête des Foux*, p. 31.

§ *Gallia Christi*, Tom. VII. Col. 154.

in their surplices, began to sing the *Vigils of the dead*, after having read to him the sentence, whereby he was pronounced a *traitor, disloyal, a villain, and a liar*. At the end of each psalm, they made a pause, during which period, a Herald at Arms divested him of some part of his armour, calling out with a loud voice, *this is the helmet of a coward, this his corset, this his shield, &c.* When the last psalm was over, a bason full of boiling water was emptied upon his head; then he was let down from the scaffold by a cord that was tied under his armpits; after this he was placed upon a hurdle, and covered with a pall, and in this manner was carried to Church, where the twelve Priests surrounded him and sung over him the psalm of *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*, which comprehends several imprecations against Traytors. He was then left at liberty to go and survive his infamy.

Censuring.

In the Metropolitan Church of St. Andrew of Bourdeaux, at the betrothing of Madame *Elisabeth* of France, October 18, 1615, with Don *Philip*, Prince of Spain, who was represented by the Duke of Guise, the *Altar and his Lordship the Cardinal de Sourdis were censured*, and

not the King; his Majesty's Chaplains saying, that formerly Kings were poisoned by this method of perfuming with frank-incense, and that where the King is, even the Altar should not be censed*.

On the 25th of November following, in the same Cathedral, at the marriage of *Lewis XIII.* with *Ann of Austria*, the Bishop of *Xaintes*, officiating, neither the Altar nor the King was censed, and the *Sieur de Boulogne*, the eldest of his Majesty's Chaplains said, that the King might sometimes be censed, not near, but at a distance ‡.

† At the Entry of the same Prince into the City of *Troyes*, January 25th. 1629, Messieurs the Provost and Subdean, at the porch of the Cathedral, carried each of them a Censer which contained fire, but no incense.

Constables.

There have been four Constables of the house of *Montmorenci*: *Matthew de Montmorenci*, in 1139; *Matthew II. de Montmorenci*, 1218; *Anne de Montmorenci* in 1538, and *Henry de Montmorenci*, in 1593. *Matthew de Montmorenci*,

* Extrait des Archives de l'Eglise de Bourdeaux, and a Mss. in the King's Library.

‡ Ibid.

† Annales de la ville de *Troyes*, par *Hugot*, Chanoine de *St. Etienne*, and a Mss. in the King's Library.

renci married *Alice* of Savoy, *Lewis* the Fat's widow; and *Henry de Montmerenci*, whilst he was very young being still called only the Duke *Damville*, would have wedded *Mary Stuart*, Queen of Scotland, and widow of *Francis II*, if he had not been already married. This Queen so little concealed her inclination for him, and the pleasure she would have had in offering him her hand and Crown, that a man who was attached to this Lord, and knew he had no great fondness for his wife, was abandoned enough to offer his service to poison her; he banished this wicked man from him, testifying all the horror which such a proposal had inspired him with.

Chancellors.

Guerin, Knight of the Order of Jerusalem, was appointed Keeper of the Seals in 1202, and Bishop of Senlis in 1213. He ranged *Philip Augustus's* army in battle at *Bovines*, and was created Chancellor in 1223. At that time, when the Chancellor travelled, he had no more allowed for himself and retinue, than seven sols a day; and even these seven sols were not allowed him, when he lodged in Abbeys and other places where he paid nothing.

Peter Flote, Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, fought valiantly at the battle of Courtray, in 1302, where he was killed.

In the Church of St. Catherine, in the street Coulture St. Catherine, the Chancellor d'Orge-
mont, who died in 1389, is represented upon his tomb, dressed in a coat of mail, with a sword by his side, and a helmet at his feet.

In 1452, at the Entry of the Count of Du-
nois into Bourdeaux, “ a white pad covered
“ with crimson velvet, and having upon his crup-
“ per a cloth made of azure coloured velvet
“ with golden flowers de luce, walked gently
“ along between a chafewax and a footman ;
“ upon the saddle of this pad there was a small
“ trunk, covered with azure coloured velvet,
“ and ornamented with gold, wherein were
“ the King's seals ; § then *William Juvenal des*
“ *Urins*, Chancellor of France, marched, ar-
“ med with a rich steel corselet, having over it
“ a crimson velvet coat.”

Peter de la Forest, after having for a long
time practised as a Counsellor, was created Bi-
shop of Tournay in 1349, Chancellor of France
the same year ; Bishop of Paris the year follow-
ing ; Archbishop of Rouen in 1352, and Car-
dinal

* Mss. in the King's Library.

§ *Belleforest*, Book V.

dinal in 1356. The salary of Chancellor was at that time 2000 Livres; he wanted to finger the money; the Chamber of Accounts refused to pass his receipt upon the Accounts, because he was a Bishop, and at that time it was expressed in the royal Ordonnances, that Prelates who filled any Posts or Employments at Court, were sufficiently recompensed by the revenue of their Livings. In 1354, this Bishop, this Archbishop, this Chancellor, purchased the Estate and Castellany of la Loupelande in the Country of Maine: as this was a noble fief, and as at that time such fiefs could not be possessed by any persons but those that were noble, he was obliged to ask for Letters of Nobility. *La Roque* observes in his Treatise upon Nobility, that the Prelates, fighting incessantly forces against the Prince of darkness, should now enjoy personal nobility, the same as all Officers do, who are not born Gentlemen, & who fight for the defence of their Country.

The Chancellor *du Prat*, becoming a widower, took to the Church to enrich himself; he was Bishop of Gap, of Valence, of Meaux, of Albi, Archbishop of Sens, and Cardinal. Some Historians assert, that after the death of *Clement VII.* he had thoughts of obtaining the Holy See; that *Francis I.* to whom he mentioned the affair,

fair, having answered him, it would cost too much, he replied, he could furnish 400000 Crowns; that *Francis I.* being filled with indignation at this, sent the next morning to *du Prat*, for the 400,000 Crowns, and had them carried to the Treasury.

The Chancellor never wears mourning, because as a Statesman, he should be insensible to all private affections and afflictions.

The Chamber of Accounts.

The Officers of this Chamber, formerly wore a pair of large Scissars at their girdle, to signify the power they have of cutting off and retrenching the superfluous Articles in the Accompts which are presented to them.

The great Council.

At the conclusion of the last Audience, at the end of Lent, the President rises, and goes to the Register's table, where taking up dice, and a box, he begins to throw, and then puts them round successively to the Counsellors, Advocates, Solicitors, Ushers, and even to the Footmen who continue playing till night. I have asked several Counsellors and Advocates, what was the origin of this custom.

Fairs.

They have told me they believed, that in the reign of Henry II. the parliament having published an arret, whereby all games of chance were prohibited, the great council thought of this method of play, to shew that they did not recognize the arrets of the parliament, and that they were not obliged to conform to them. This reason did not satisfy me, nor will it, I believe, satisfy any one; for after all, the usual effects of play, are at least as dangerous as the disorders that may be occasioned by places of public prostitution: now, it is not above two hundred years since such places were tolerated and protected by the laws, at court, in Paris, and in all the great cities of the kingdom; if the parliament had published, and posted up an arret to abolish them, surely such respectable judges as those of the great council, would not have attempted to preserve one in the heart of the palace, where they administered justice; they would not have made a point of going thither upon particular days. My notion of this matter is, that our kings had fools who were appointed, and upon the establishment

ment of the household; the provosts of the household were their counsel, and they had a right of appeal to the grand council; these fools, either to amuse themselves, or to divert other people, or, perhaps, for other reasons, carried on suits, the pleadings whereof were probably postponed till the time of Carnival, in the same manner as causes were then, and still are, pleaded on *Shrove Tuesday*, at the Chatelet, and in parliament. The president of the great council, after having heard the counsel on both sides, called for a box and dice, to determine thereby disputes usually so ridiculous. Such is my conjecture upon this head; I acknowledge, at the same time, that I have no authority to support it.

Fair
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Place this between Page 202, and 203, in Vol. III.

Fairs.

There are four Fairs in Paris : the Fair of St. Germain, the Fair of St. Lawrence, the Fair of the Temple, and the Fair of the Hams, *au Parvis de Notre Dame* : they all four belong to the Clergy. The two first continuing for some weeks, have always attracted a great number of Buffoons, Jugglers, Rope-Dancers, Puppet-Players, &c.

In the accounts and calculations made in 1376, and other years, the Lord of Bethisi declares to *Blanche* of France, widow of *Philip* of Orleans, that the common women who come to Bethisi during the Fair, owe him four deniers of Paris, and that this tax formerly produced him ten sols of Paris every year, but that it did not now amount to more than five sols, the number of those that came being decreased.

The Hotel of the Comedians in ordinary to the King, supported by His Majesty.

A Shopkeeper whom I frequently purchased things of, desired me one day to go into his back shop. He told me he had just been reading a dissertation against public Diversions, which gave him great uneasiness on account of his profession.

He seemed so greatly affected and terrified, and pressed me so much to assist him in writing a letter to his Curate, that I at last consented. This letter has appeared in the papers of M. Freron *Année littéraire* 1759. p. 29. I have since made some alterations in it.

*A Letter from a Dealer in gold and silver
Stuffs to the Curate of —*

Sir,

I find such an alarming resemblance between the profession of a Player and my own, that I am fearful my trade, though I carry it on with the most scrupulous probity, will prove an obstacle to my salvation. You repeatedly tell me, Sir, that the Theatre displays pageantry, magnificence, the vain glory of the world, and all the pomp of Satan ; that it inspires pride, jealousy, and an inordinate taste for dress ; that it is opposite to humility, charity, disinterestedness, and the love of one's neighbour. A tradesman, Sir, is precisely in the same situation ; he desires nothing but luxury ; his schemes and designs tend only to support it, and by ingenious resources to excite self-love in his fellow-citizens, who are slaves to fashion, which impoverishes them. It even seems to me that the state of an Actor is less

less dangerous than mine ; he cannot reprove himself with ruining families ; the reasonable price which it costs to amuse one's self for some hours at public diversions, prevents considerable expences which other amusements might create ; it obviates shocking disorders of various kinds. Moreover Dramatic performances are replete with strokes against the vain-glorious, the ostentatious, the prodigal, *Petit-maitres*, and *Coxcombs* ; whereas the tradesman must flatter these vices, and wish them to grow and propagate incessantly throughout Europe. How many families are annihilated, how many estates disposed of, how many children robbed of their patrimony, because unthinking fathers have thought proper to attract the public attention by the imposing appearance of fine cloaths and superb equipages ! Victims to a boyish and cruel vanity, the sons of Gentlemen often live in misery, and in that contempt which attends it.

These are not the only evils which may be imputed to the Tradesman. Indigent vanity becomes ingenious in its resources. A young man who wants to take upon him an air of importance, cannot appear in the world without being externally magnificent. The limits of his fortune, or the wise moderation of a father, will not allow him to give a loose to his taste ; in order

to gratify it, he must either rob his relations, dupe his creditors, or have recourse to such means as are still more shameful.

The trade of a Shopkeeper in my branch, you will say, is the more allowable, as a great number of people are obliged, less by their birth than by their situation, to make a figure, and therefore must wear those Stuffs, the sale of which I fear will run counter to my salvation. This reflection, Sir, might secure me, if there were edicts in France, as there are in some republics, which fixed the dress of every station; but in Paris and the Provinces, where people of different ranks are confounded by opulence, we are not less the secondary causes of all the evils which spring from immoderate luxury.

The stage, you will add, is a public place, where for money, vice is represented with all its blandishments. Ah! Sir, is not my shop, like the Theatre, an open receptacle to every one for money? If I have not the criminal art of rendering vice amiable, I sell that, which almost always conduces to it. A fine gown often becomes the object of a young person's desires, only to procure her ruin. How many girls sacrifice their honour to their vanity! How many of them would not live if it were not to dress, who
dress

dress only to please, and who please only to be seduced !

Public Representations, you insist, are the rocks which most young people split upon, because the actresses unite with seducing talents, the dangerous charms of a figure which art and nature concur to render engaging : hence arise desires, and desires alone may ruin the most virtuous man. But is not the danger still greater in entering a shop, where an amiable woman and pretty girls, set off with all the refinements of coquetry, seem to lay a snare, in which the most austere wisdom has more than once been caught ? A single advertisement determines us to see a play : this is a voluntary step which every citizen is at liberty to take. How far more powerful are the persuasives used by us ! Enchanting Syrens, placed designedly on each side of our shops, and those of Milleners, attract the multitude by a prepossessing face, flattering looks, and agreeable speeches. The seduced passenger flies to the vice that charms him ; and if his desires are not attended with criminal consequences, we render him guilty however, by engaging him to apply to useless and frivolous purchases, the patrimony of his children, and the accumulated wages of his servants.

F 6 Another

Another difference there is in favour of the Theatre, which is, that men and women purchase stuffs of new patterns every season, whereby they are rendered less able to assist the poor, whereas the Actors daily contribute to their support.

I am sensible, Sir, that the Prince protects our Trade, and therefore it should seem we may carry it on with a safe Conscience. But, Sir, the Prince protects the Actors also, allows them Pensions, and publicly declares it, and yet you anathematize them.

Our silk Stuffs are sold for the taste of our patterns, throughout the Universe, and consequently bring a great deal of money into the Kingdom. On the other hand, how many Millions have *Corneille*, *Moliere*, and *Racine* been worth to France! Their works are bought and read in every part of Europe, they have rendered our Language the universal Tongue; we are, thanks to their masterly Productions, become the model for all other Nations: since that period Foreigners have resorted to Paris, where they expend immense sums.

You see, Sir, that the Actor is as useful to the State as the Tradesman. I think I have proved that the latter does not agitate the passions less than the former, but that he even excites them
more.

more. These reasons combined make me conclude, that if Players ought to be banished from the Congregation of the Faithful, Tradesmen; such as I, ought to fear the same reprobation; I beg you would inform me whether my scruples are well or ill founded, and if I may as a Christian continue my trade, or whether I should give it up. I know Sir, that I am intended for Sheriff next year; but a Sheriff is not greater before God than another man, and what is the glory of this world, when our salvation in the other is in question! I am most respectfully, Sir,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant,

M.

P. S. I was last Sunday at our Parish-Church, the Daughters of M-----, the rich Financier were there; their gowns (though to be sure their father's fortune enables them to wear the most expensive) excited a general murmur; and a very indecent tattle in Church. Says one, *See, they are dressed as magnificently as Princeesses.* Ay, says another, *it is not above 20 years since their father, who was son to a valet de Chambre, was only an under clerk with a salary of 800 livres.* Is not this, says a third, *insulting our public distresses?*

In

In a word, Sir, I doubt whether any scene in any comedy whatever could occasion more sin than these Ladies gowns, by all the scandal that they gave birth to. I sold the silk: an Actor makes the most of his part; if he is guilty, am not I so too?

The Hotel of the Invalids.

I have ever been surprised that *Lewis XIVth.* did not unite with the idea of this superb Edifice, that of consecrating a place, where one might have seen the monuments and statues of those Generals, who under his reign and those of his successors, might have conducted the armies of the nation with the greatest glory. Where could they be more honourably interred than in the midst of those aged soldiers, the companions of their labours, who, like themselves, had lavishly spilt their blood in the cause of their country?

The equestrian Statue of Henry IV.

Under the first, second and third race, till the reign of *Lewis XIII.* if the statue of a King was produced, it was only to be placed upon his tomb, or at the porch of some Church or royal-house,

house, which he had caused to be built or repaired. The equestrian Statue of *Henry IV.* erected upon the Pontneuf, *August 23, 1624,* is the first general and public monument of the kind raised in Paris to the glory of our Monarchs. I should not have put either the trophies of arms, or the slaves chained to the four corners of the pedestal, nor those inscriptions which are upon the four sides in praise of this Prince: I should simply have put *HENRY IV.*

The Church of St. Pierre aux bœufs.

In the reign of *Lewis XII.* a scholar named *Hemon de la Fosse*, a native of Abbeville, by reading and admiring the Greek and Latin authors caught such a phrenzy, as to persuade himself, that it was impossible the religion of such great genius's as Homer, Cicero, and Virgil, should not be true. On the 23d of *August, 1503,* being in the holy Chapel, he snatched the host from the hands of the priest in the instant of its elevation, saying, *What always this folly?* His execution was put off for several days, in hopes that he would abjure his extravagant errors, and acknowledge his crime; but all the representations and exhortations that were made to him were fruitless; he still persisted in maintaining that
Jupiter

Jupiter was the sovereign God of the universe, and that there was no other Paradise than the Elysian Fields. He was burnt alive, after his tongue had been bored, and his hand cut off. I have heard it related, that at the solemn Procession which was made as a reparation for this sacrilegious deed of the Scholar, two oxen which were conducting to the slaughter-house of the Hotel-Dieu, and which were then at the porch of the Parish Church of St. Pierre, fell down upon their knees before the Holy Sacrament, and that the two stone figures of oxen, in Relievo, which are * seen upon this Church Porch, are a monument of this miracle. This is certain, that long before this Procession took place, this Church of St. *Pierre aux bœufs*, was so called, being the Parish Church of the City butchers, they had these two figures of oxen affixed upon the Porch.

The Church of St. Marine.

The marriage ceremony of such persons, as are condemned to wedlock, is performed in this Church. They were in ancient times married with a straw ring; was this to signify to the husband, that the virtue of her he was going to marry

* They have lately been taken down.

marry was very frail? This was neither polite, nor charitable.

Convents of Religious Mendicants.

Study to do your own business, says St. Paul, (1 Thess. ch. iv. 11.) and to work with your own hands, as we command you.

Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought, says the same Apostle (2. Thess. iii, 8, 10.) but wrought with labour, and travel night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any one of you. We commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.

Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the rule he laid down to the Carmelites about the year 1209, particularly enjoined them retirement, silence, and continual work.

** I laboured with my hands, says St. Francis in his will; I will continue to do so, and I earnestly desire that all the brethren apply themselves to some honest work, and that those who know not how to work, may learn.*

We want to build, says St. Bonaventure; we are no longer contented with those poor and simple dwellings which are prescribed to us by our Rule.-- We are a burthen to all the world, and we shall

be
 10 * Hist. Ecclesiastique de Fleuri, Anno 1226.

be still more so hereafter, if we continue to go on at this rate.

It may be said, that the Fairy Tales, where by the single stroke of a wand, a palace rises, are realized by the virtue of the wallet.

Lewis XIV. judging that the expences which the Mendicant Friars were at in building, as well for the decoration of their Monasteries, as for the increase of their revenues, were contrary to the sanctity of their rules and the police of the State; forbid them, by his Declaration of the 5th of September, 1684, on pain of being deprived of their privileges, to undertake any building, the expence whereof should exceed the sum of 15,000 Livres, without having obtained leave by Letters Patent, signed with his hand, and countersigned by one of the Secretaries of State, sealed with the great Seal, and registered in Parliament, with the usual formalities. And with respect to those buildings, the expence whereof should be above 3000 Livres, and under 15,000 Livres, they were forbid to undertake them, without having first obtained leave by an Arret of Parliament.

Is it not extraordinary, that we should be asked alms to build houses, which are to be let to us upon the dearest terms, and the revenues of which can serve only to increase the number of

of those who remain in a state of celibacy, to the prejudice of population, and the strength of the State?

When the Peasants of five or six villages are ordered to make or repair a highway, if three or four score Mendicant Friars of the nearest City, were to offer themselves for this service, what veneration would they not derive from it! Such kind of good works, methinks, would be more meritorious than walking about the streets with naked legs.

The Hospital of the Quinze-Vingts.

St. Lewis founded it about the Year 1260, for 300 blind beggars. It is absolutely false, that it was founded in favour of 300 Knights, whose eyes had been put out by the Saracens during their captivity in Egypt.

A *Quinze-Vingt* had two twin daughters, who were frequently taken one for the other; he distinguished them at once by stroking their faces, and said, without ever being mistaken, this is *Louisa*, and that is *Jenny*.

He knew by the sense of smelling, when they were under a certain monthly predicament.

Being one morning a little out of order, he returned home sooner than usual; *Louisa* was with

with a young fellow, whom she had a regard for, and whom she let out very softly. But our blind man's hearing was full as nice as his smell and feeling; he took *Louisa* by the hand, smelt her face and breast, and pretended he was certain she had just been guilty of some act of lewdness; and as he was very brutal, he began to treat her in a very cruel manner, when the young fellow who had remained at the door, came in again, and told him he desired nothing more than to marry his daughter, to whom he had plighted his faith, and that he hoped, if he enquired concerning his character, he would not refuse him his request: the blind man made inquiry accordingly, and finding he was a young fellow of good morals, and that he had a small employment in an Office, he gave him *Louisa*, with a dower of eleven thousand Livres.

The Equestrian Statue in the Cathedral Church of Notre-Dame.

The President *Heinaut* says, "that in commemoration of the victory which *Philip the Fair* gained over the Flemish at Mons in *Pu-elle*, *August* 18, 1304, an Equestrian Statue of that Prince was erected at the Church of *Notre-Dame*, and that he bequeathed to the
" Church

“ Church of Notre Dame at Paris, a yearly in-
 “ come of 100 Livres. There have arisen
 “ some mistakes, (he adds,) concerning this
 “ monument, which some Authors, and amongst
 “ others *Nicholas Gilles*, attribute to *Philip de*
 “ *Valois*; but to be convinced of the certainty
 “ of the thing, it is only necessary to read the
 “ Burial-register of the Church of Notre Dame
 “ at Paris, or the 6th lesson of the Breviary of
 “ Paris, where this victory is commemorated
 “ on the 18th of *August*, which was the day
 “ that the battle of Mons in Puelle was fought,
 “ whereas that of Cassel happened on the 23d
 “ of *August*.”

The President *Heinaut* certainly did not re-
 member, that an Historian, who was an eye-
 witness, and who has written the History of his
 own time, from 1301, to 1340*, talking of
Philip the Fair, and of the battle of Mons in
 Puelle, simply says, that this Prince, as a thank-
 giving for this victory, made foundations at
 Notre Dame, St. Denis, and several other
 Churches, whereas the same Historian making
 mention of *Philip de Valois* and the battle of Cas-
 sel, says that *Philip de Valois*, upon his return
 into France, went to St. Denis, and afterwards
 to Notre Dame of Paris, where he mounted the
 same

* See *Continuat. Guill. de Nangis*, p. 616.

same horse, and armed himself with the same arms he had at the battle, and presented them as an offering to the holy Virgin: *Rex vero* (Philipus Valeſius) in *Francia exiſtens*, *beatum Dionifium* primitus devote & humiliter viſitavit, & poſtea ivit *Parifios*, & *Eccleſiam Beatæ Mariæ ingreſſus*, coram imagine eiſdem armis quibus in bello armatus fuerat, ſe armari fecit & ſuper equum cui exiſtenti in bello infederat, aſcenſus, *Beatæ Mariæ* cui ſe in hoc belli periculo faciſſimum dona voverat, *Eccleſiæ ejusdem arma & equum deferens*, devotiſſime præſentavit, eidem de tanti evaſione periculi gratias agens*.

It is ſaid, that if in ſome Manuſcripts we find *ivit Parifios*, in others it is written *ivit Carnutum*, that is to ſay, to Chartres, and that it was in the Church of Chartres, that Philip de Valois entered armed and on horſeback, as Philip the Fair had done twenty four years before, in the Cathedral Church of Paris. But is it natural that the cotemporary Hiſtorian of theſe two Princes, having related the action of Philip de Valois, would not have mentioned the ſame action done by Philip the Fair, eſpecially when he ſpeaks of the foundations which Philip the Fair made in commemoration and acknowledgment

* See *Continuat. Guill. de Nangis*, p. 737.

ment of the victory which he gained at Mons in Puelle?

Add to the testimony of this cotemporary historian, that of a manuscript, which seems to be of the year 1360, marked H, and numbered 22, making part of the manuscripts which the chapter of *Notre Dame* presented to the King. It is there said, "that Philip de Valois, after the battle
" of Cassel, in the year 1328, entered compleatly
" armed upon his horse, into the Church of our
" Lady at Paris, and there offered her the said
" horse and arms as an oblation, thanking her
" for the victory which he had obtained by her
" intercession; and that the said King is repre-
" sented seated upon two pillars before the image
" of the said Lady, in the nave of the said
" Church."

To these authorities may be still added that of the great chronicles of France, in manuscript, anno 1380. These say, that *Philip of Valois mounted upon his steed, and entered the church of our Lady at Paris, where he very devoutly thanked her, and presented her the said horse on which he was mounted, and all his armour.*

With respect to the register of burials belonging to the church of *Notre Dame* at Paris, mention is there simply made of a foundation of an income of a hundred livres, made by *Philip the Fair,*

Fair, as a thanksgiving for the victory he had gained at Mons in Puelle; and as it is not said that this Prince entered the Church of *Notre-Dame* on horseback, and that he there made an offering of his horse and arms to the Virgin, this is a farther proof that it was not he, but *Philip de Valois*, who entered in that manner into this Church, and who made this offering. The marginal note in the register is written in a very modern hand and style, and therefore proves nothing.

I agree that we find in the new Breviaries of Paris, * *Philippus Pulcher reversus postea Lutetiam, in ejusdem Basilica prona statuam suam equestrem, eamque armatam, coram Beatæ Virginis imagine, in perenne collati beneficii monumentum erigi voluit.* But in the ancient Breviaries there are only these words, in *Ecclesiâ Parisiensi, propter commemorationem victoriæ Philippi Pulchri sit duplum.* The three lessons which were made and inserted for *Philip the Fair*, in the new Breviaries are not only omitted, but on the contrary we find instead of them the two following ones:

Lectio

* 18 Augusti infra octav. Assumpt.

Lectio Quinta.

† Quod intelligens gloriosæ memoriæ Rex Philip² pus Valesius, cum opitulante Deo per merita Beatæ Virginis Matris, insignem victoriam de rebellibus Flandris obtinisset, quæ contigit anno 1328, acturus Deo & sanctæ Virgini gratias, triumphans & equitans Ecclesiam Beatæ Mariæ Parisiis ingressus est, non vanâ ostentatione elatus, sed Deo, per quem de ancipiti bello evaserat, profunda humilitate subjectus.

Lectio Sexta.

Itaque & æquum & arma in quibus vicerat, gloriosissimæ Virgini devovit atque ut testimonium tanti beneficii posteritati relinqueret, statuit ut infra octavas assumptionis ejusdem genetricis Dei, dies ista duplo celebrior haberetur, & propter assumptionis Beatæ Mariæ solemnitatem, & propter tantæ victoriæ nullis abolendam temporibus memoriam.

It will, doubtless, be asked, whence arise these alterations in the new Breviaries. I answer, that I do not know the reason; but evil minded people may be apt to imagine, that on account of the Annuity of a hundred Livres,

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given

† Breviar. Ecclesiæ Parisiensis, Festa Augusti anno 1584.

given by the foundation of *Philip* the Fair, to commemorate his victory, it was judged very proper that this Prince should be remembered ; and that on the other hand, *Philip de Valois*, who gave nothing to the Church but his horse and his arms, might at length be forgotten.

In the account of the battle of Cassel, it appears that the enemy's attack was sudden and unexpected, but that *Philip de Valois* had time to put on one half of his armour and to mount his horse ; whereas at the battle of Mons in Pu-elle, *Philip* the Fair was surprised in his tent, and fought on foot till some Lords came to his assistance, when he had time to get on horseback. Now, if he was desirous to have his statue placed at Notre-Dame, it is highly probable, he would have had himself represented on foot, as in the moment of the greatest danger, and consequently the most glorious for him. I make this remark in answer to what *Moreau de Mautour* says, who to support his opinion, disguises facts even to himself *.

From what I have said, I imagine that the new Inscription at Notre-Dame ought to be altered, and that *Rex Philippus Valesius*, &c. should be substituted in place of *Rex Philippus Pulcher*. Besides, those Critics are wrong, who object

* *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Tom. III. p. 299.

object to this Inscription, and say, that it is not likely a King should enter a Church on horseback, because it would have been too indecent. Such a criticism shews a man to be very little conversant in the study of our history, and of our ancient manners and customs : he would there find that at the funeral service performed at St. Denis, in 1389, for *Bertrand Duguesclin*, by order of *Charles VI.* the Knights who were chief mourners, entered the Church upon horses caparisoned with black ; and that the Bishop who celebrated Mass, came down from the Altar after reading the Gospel, and placing himself at the door of the Choir, there received the offering of the horses, by putting his hand upon their heads.

The Parish of St. Côme.

* The Marshal *de Beaumanoir* being a hunting in a forest of Maine, in 1599, his servants brought a man to him, whom they found sleeping in a hedge, whose figure was very remarkable. Upon the top of his forehead he had two horns, shaped and situated as those of a ram ; his head was quite bald, and under his chin he had a red beard that grew in tufts, resembling

G 2

those

* *De Thou, L. 123.*

those that satyrs are painted with. He was so much chagrined at being carried from fair to fair, that he died of grief at Paris, at the end of three months. He was interred in the Church-yard of this Parish, and over his grave an Epitaph was inscribed, which is flat enough in all conscience, but which was probably thought very smart at that time. * It was to the following purpose ;

“ In this retired corner lies a very extraordinary
 “ cuckold ; for such he was, though never mar-
 “ ried. Passenger, pray to God for his soul.”

*The Chapel called Notre-Dame of Lo-
 retto, at Issi.*

§ In this Chapel the Gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpitius, permit no one to say Mass at the principal Altar with a *wig on*. All the Altars where our holy mysteries are celebrated, are equally respectable, if Mass may be said with a perriwig on at one, why may it not at another. These little minute venerations are unworthy of true Religion.

The invention of periwigs is very ancient. The Phenicians at their feasts for the funeral and
 resur-

* Recueil d' Epitaphes. p. 67.

§ Histoire du Diocèse de Paris.

resurrection of *Adonis*, were obliged to sacrifice their hair to the Goddess *Derceto*, or *Venus*; women, however, might preserve theirs, if they chose it, by resigning themselves for the day, to the amorous intreaties of strangers, who resorted in great numbers to these festivals. The money they received as the price of their complaisance, belonged and was consecrated to the Goddess. A man invented periwigs for such women as would not prostitute themselves, but who at the same time would have been very sorry to part with their hair. The Priests inveighed bitterly against an invention so prejudicial to their interests, and periwigs were prohibited.

The Parish of St. Paul.

William de Vienne, at his death, ordered that the following Epitaph should be inscribed upon his tomb; *He was the father of John of Vienne*. His paternal affection must certainly have been flattered by the glory which his son acquired upon a variety of occasions. *Charles V.* having created him Admiral of France in 1373, the descents which he made on England and Ireland, evinced that his invariable maxim was just, *that the English were no where weaker, nor more easily conquered than at home*. He was killed in

Bulgaria, September 26th 1396, at the head of the French troops, at the fatal battle of Nicopolis.

Nicholas Flamel.

In the first Edition of these Essays published in 1754, I observed that there were still to be seen on one of the large side posts of the house of *Nicholas Flamel*, his own figure and that of *Pernella* his wife, with Gothic inscriptions and pretended hieroglyphics. The Author of an Essay towards a History of the Parish of St. Jaques de la Boucherie, printed in 1757, relates a remarkable event: *A person, says he, who had taken upon himself a very specious name, went in 1756, to those who had the care of the Church Revenues of this Parish, and told them he was appointed by a deceased friend to dispose of a considerable sum of money, which was to be employed in pious acts at his option. He added, that in order to concur more heartily with his friend's intentions, he proposed to repair some decayed houses belonging to Churches; that the house at the corner of the street of Marivaux, over-against St. Jaques de la Boucherie, stood in need of reparation, and that he would lay out 3000 Livres upon it. The proposal was accepted; repairing the house was the pretext,*

pretext, but the real object was to dig up and carry off some engraven stones. Those who were interested in discovering the imaginary treasure, attended the work very constantly; the digging went on in their presence, and some rugged stones with all the engraven ones were privately carried off. The reparations might amount to about 2000 Livres; but the person who made the application, disappeared with his Confederates, without paying the money; and the expence will probably remain upon the account of a master Mason, who was too easily imposed upon by people unknown, whom he seeks after but cannot find.

It is very likely that these unknown people are in search of the Philosopher's stone, and I would advise this builder to believe, that when they find it, they will pay him very generously.

*The Hospital for Girls who have lived
bad lives.*

I once heard a case of conscience discussed, concerning an affair related by D. Vincent Baccallar y Sanna, Marquis of St. Philip, in his Memoirs for a History of Spain, under the Reign of Philip V. He says, that the Portuguese having declared in favour of the Arch-Duke, and having come and encamped in the neighbourhood of

Madrid, the Courtisans of that City resolved amongst themselves to testify their zeal for *Philip V.* and to that end, those of them who were convinced of their being in the worst state of health, perfumed themselves, and went by night into the Portuguese camp, and that in less than three weeks, there were upwards of 6000 of the Portuguese army in the Hospitals, where the greatest part of them died.

The case of conscience which was discussed turned upon this, whether these girls were guilty of sin, in prostituting themselves to the Portuguese, and whether the deed was not palliated by the intention they had of serving their country. The Doctor, who maintained they had not sinned, asserted that as it is allowable to destroy one's enemies, to burn and sack their towns, and to employ every possible means to diminish their strength, by a still more incontrovertible reason, was it allowable to give them the P * *.

The Parish of St. Eustache.

It is not forty years since one might see in the Carrefour *la pointe de St. Eustache*, a large stone laid over a common sewer in the form of a little bridge, which was called *Pont-Alais*. *John Alais*

Alais, from whom this bridge took its name, in order to reimburse himself a sum of money which he had lent the King, was the inventor and farmer of a tax of one denier upon every bushel of fish brought to market ; he was afterwards so touched with remorse at what he had done, that to expiate his crime, he would be buried under this stone, in the common sewer of the markets. This little monument, which stopped up the way, has been destroyed ; but would it not have been proper to transport it to some Hotel, and fix it in the court, with an Inscription ?

The Hotels of the two Companies of Musketeers.

A Spartan who was bragging to a stranger of the intrepidity with which the young men of his country fought, and exposed themselves to all perils, was answered, by the stranger, *I am surprised they do not go in quest of death itself, considering the tiresome, melancholy and disagreeable life they and all of you lead in your Republic.* It cannot be said that diversions are wanting at Paris, that we are as melancholy and gloomy here as at Lacedemon, and that the French Nobility are only brave when they are out of humour with life.

The first Company of Musqueteers was created in 1622, and have distinguished themselves upon every occasion. At the pass of Suza, where they forced the three Intrenchments sword in hand, *Lewis XIII.* who was there in person, said, *What always gives me pleasure in my Musqueteers, is the gayety and chearfulness with which they march up, to whatever they are ordered to attack.* At the battle of Dunes, the great *Condé*, who then served against France, charged them four different times, with Corps much superior to them in number, without being able to make them quit the ground they occupied.

The second Company was not put upon the same footing as the first, and the King did not declare himself their Captain, till the year 1665.

The war between France and Spain being rekindled in 1667, on account of the Queen's Rights, the Musqueteers followed the King into Flanders, and continued to serve on foot and horseback at every Siege. At that of Lisle, they were ordered to attack the half-moon, which they carried in less than a quarter of an hour. The next day the Governor beat the *Chamade*, and when the Capitulation was signed, and the Musqueteers took possession of the gate he gave up, he was astonished to find that the greatest
part

part of them were young fellows, not above 17, 18, or 20 years of age.

In 1668, they marched into Franche-Comté. Dole seemed to be the only City disposed to hold out a siege; * but we had scarce opened the trenches, before 30 or 40 Musqueteers threw themselves into the covered-way. The great *Condé* came up that instant, and finding their daring temerity had imposed upon the enemy, who were then running away, he supported them with the infantry, and procured them success in an attack, where the imprudence of their courage must have cost them their lives. Dole surrendered the next day.

In 1669, *Lewis XIV.* added a detachment of a hundred Musqueteers, to the troops he put into Candia. They signalized themselves by every effort of the greatest valour in the sally which was made by the Duke *de Navailles*, when the Turkish Cavalry were entirely routed. Two days after, they defended the breach on the side of *Sabionnaire*, and repulsed the Turks in every assault they made upon them. Two Quarter Masters and 30 Musqueteers were wounded, and two Brigadiers killed.

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In

* Journal de la conquête de la Franche Comté en 1668.

In 1672, *Lewis XIV.* declared war against Holland, and on *June 12th* the Musqueteers swam across the Rhine with the other Squadrons of the Household.

At the siege of *Maestricht*, in 1673, the first Company were ordered to attack the dry half-moon, whilst the second attacked the pallisades between that half-moon and the horn-work. The signal was given; they marched; and notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy, the mines which they sprung, the terrible lightnings of the grenades, which were incessantly thrown at them, these works were carried almost in the same instant of time. The action of the next day was still more warm and bloody; the lodgments were thought to be secured, and the Musqueteers were returned into the Camp: the enemy all of a sudden sprung a mine, which had not been discovered by our men in the half moon; there was reason to fear there were others; *Farjaux*, the Governor of the place, who had put himself at the head of the best troops of his Garrison, availing himself of this moment of alarm, re-entered this work, and drove our soldiers from it; the Musqueteers were ordered anew to retake it, and they did so * ;

but

* Relation du Duc de Monmouth à Charles II. Recueil de Pièces, pag. 139.

but not till after a most bloody and obstinate engagement, wherein 53 Musqueteers were wounded, and 37 killed, with the Count d'Ar-
tagnan, commander of the first Company. *The Musqueteers who returned, says Pelisson, had their swords bloody, up to the hilts, and bent with the thrusts they had given the enemy.* *

Two strong barricadoes and an intrenchment round the Church of St. Stephen, defended the approaches of the Citadel of Besançon. May 20th. 1674, at ten in the morning, the Musqueteers marched 200 paces, exposed to all the fire of the enemy's cannon and musketry, forced these two barricadoes, and the intrenchment, and enabled our workmen to begin a lodgement upon the Glacis.

April 21, 1676, Lewis XIV. laid siege to Condé, which was one of the strongest places in Hainault. The Prince of Orange immediately marched to succour it. The communication between our quarters was very difficult to be formed, on account of the inundation; besides, our lines comprehended such a great extent of ground, that it was impossible to defend them against an army, were it even much inferior to our own. It was therefore necessary either to march before the enemy and give them battle,

* Tom, I. p. 325.

battle, or to press the siege with an attack so vigorous, that the place should be obliged to surrender before the arrival of the succours. On the night of the 25th. of *April*, the two Companies of Musqueteers, at the head of several detachments of Infantry, were ordered to make this attack; and if ever bravery and the emulation which bravery inspires, rendered a service of importance, it was upon this occasion. *A day more or less, says Pelisson, (Tom. iii. p. 20, 21,) was of the greatest consequence in such a situation of affairs; our troops therefore, had orders not to stop, if it were possible to avoid it, till every thing was carried.* Every thing was carried in fact; the palissades, the ditch, the counterscarp, the advanced work, the second counterscarp, the redoubts upon the salient angles, with the mines underneath, and the two detached bastions with their curtain: the enemy could not oppose the impetuosity of our assaults in any of these works. * The Musqueteers followed by the Grenadiers of the Regiments of Artois and Maine, penetrated as far as the lower town; the Governor in consternation, ordered the *Chamade* to be beaten, sent hostages immediately, and surrendered at discretion. In these different attacks,

* *Journal du Marechal d'Humieres, Recueil de Pièces, pag. 147.*

which were so quick that they seemed only to make one, there were only 11 Musqueteers killed, and 17 wounded. *La Hoguette*, ensign to the first Company, was wounded by a pike in the thigh; *Jauvelle*, Captain Lieutenant of the second Company, and *de Vins*, second Lieutenant, were blown up by the springing of a mine, but they only received a few bruises.

Good Fortifications well kept up; ammunition and provisions in abundance; a most formidable artillery upon the ramparts and in all the works; 3 or 4000 men in garrison; the hatred the inhabitants bore the French, and their affection for the Spanish government; all seemed to bespeak that the siege of Valenciennes, would be long, difficult and bloody. The side of the City on which we began our attack, was defended on the right by one half-moon, and by another on the left, in front by a crown-work pallisaded and fraised, the ditch whereof was intersected with several traverses. In this crown-work there was another half-moon with a good ditch, all well lined; beyond the half-moon was a branch of the Scheld; then a work called the *Paté*, and lastly the great stream of the Scheld, deep and rapid, which in its course formed a ditch between the *Paté* and the wall of the City, whose fine spacious ramparts protected

ted with their Cannon, and those of the two Bastions, all the exterior defences. The trenches were opened on the 9th of *March* 1677. The 11th at night, the Musqueteers were ordered with the Grenadiers * of the Household, and some large detachments of the Regiment of Guards and that of Picardy. The 17th at nine in the morning they marched to attack the crown-work, and carried it in a short time. *Soon after, says Pelisson, (Tom. 3. p. 178,) the King easily distinguished his Musqueteers, by their red clothes, whilst they were in the half-moon within the crown-work. This appeared incredible, adds he, for their orders were to lodge themselves in the crown-work and to proceed no farther; which the King was contented with for the present.* If this beginning of the action seemed incredible, the end of it was still more astonishing. There was a bridge upon the little branch of the Scheld, which communicated with the half-moon and *Paté*; and at the entrance upon this bridge, there was a barrier of large pieces of wood pointed with a wicket in the middle, through which one man only could pass at a time. Whilst a part of such

* The horse Grenadiers were created towards the end of the year 1676, and were united to the King's Household. This Company consisted at first of only 84 Masters. They were called the *Riotors*, from the name of their Commander.

such of the Musqueteers as arrived first, were endeavouring to force an entrance here, the others got on the top of the barrier, in defiance of the attacks of pikes, and the firing of Muskets, and jumped sword in hand on the other side. The enemy fled in a pannick, no longer attempting to defend the wicket: they were pursued across the bridge as far as the *Paté*; this work was attacked, and as rapidly carried as the crown-work, and the half-moon; but here they were upon the point of being infallibly destroyed by the cannon of the ramparts. The white Musqueteers † perceived a little door †, which they found open, when they discovered a private staircase, formed in the inside of the wall, by which they got to the top of the *Paté*; here they met with another door that led into a gallery, erected over the great Canal of the Scheld, which conducted them to the ramparts, from whence they descended into the City, and passed a street, in the middle of which was a bridge upon a third branch of the Scheld, which crossed it. Cornet

Moissac

* They passed by the two advanced half moons without attacking them, because these would fall of themselves, when once they became masters of the crown-work which commanded them.

† So called from their being mounted upon white horses.

Pelisson, p. 192, Vol. III.

Moissac, and Quarter-Master *La Barre*, who led them on, lodged part of these men in the houses which were most contiguous, that they might by their firing from the windows protect those who should defend the bridge, and who really defended it with a bravery that surpasses belief. The cavalry of the garrison, who attacked them three different times, could never shake nor break in upon them, notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers. The infantry by passing the rampart might have attacked their rear; but the greatest part of the black musqueteers, with the household grenadiers were posted there, and vigorously repulsed them. The inhabitants were astonished; the Burgesses assembled in the Town-house: they entered into a short conference with *Moissac*, who received and gave hostages: a deputation was sent to the King: it was now high time to take precautions to prevent the town's being pillaged: the soldiers of the regiment of French guards and that of Picardy began to crowd in, some grenadiers of the household having let down the drawbridge of the great canal of the Scheld *. “ I
“ do

* I have observed that the great stream or canal of the Scheld served for a ditch between the City wall and the *paré*. The musqueteers having taken the *paré*, would have entered the City pellmell with the flying enemy, if the besieged had not immediately raised the drawbridge.

“do not know (says *Larrey*) whether history
“furnishes many examples of an action so abrupt
“and fortunate, and of taking so speedily a po-
“pulous and strong city which was in want of
“nothing for its defence. It is all prodigy, (adds
“he,) and the whole was attributed to the lucky
“temerity of the musketeers.” It was lucky,
because cool blood and prudence compleated what
ardour and the impetuosity of courage had begun.
Every circumstance is characteristic of true va-
lour, that valour which raises a man above him-
self, and often makes him triumph against all ex-
pectation, and in opposition to the most immi-
nent danger in which he seems precipitated.

March 17th, 1677, the musketeers had taken
Valenciennes: *April 11th* they determined the
fate of the battle of *Cassel*. Our army was com-
manded by the King's brother, and that of the
enemy by the Prince of Orange. We surprized
them in crossing a rivulet, and broke and routed
the first toops that offered themselves; “but we
“met with more opposition afterwards,” says
Peliffon, (*Tom iii. p. 231*) “for some regiments
“of infantry, particularly that of the Prince of
“Orange's guards, let themselves be cut to pieces,
“without a soldier's moving from his place and
“rank. Our cavalry, (continues he) whom
“they waited for behind some hedges, with their
“pikes

“ pikes lowered, advanced, but never dared to
 “ join them, till the Musqueteers, on foot, with
 “ two battalions of Navarre and two of Humieres
 “ went and put them all to the sword.” He says
 in another letter, (Tom. iii. p. 289,) “ that the
 “ musqueteers having dismounted, performed
 “ wonders, but that in retiring to mount their
 “ horses again, they had like to have made some
 “ of our battalions who followed them, retreat,
 “ imagining they had been repulsed.” * We
 may gather from this dry and inaccurate narration,
 that the Prince of Orange’s guards, supported by
 two other battalions, having a ditch and hedges
 before them, their first rank composed of pike-
 men, and the others making a terrible fire upon
 our cavalry, who endeavoured to cross the ditch,
 were twice broken and repulsed: the Musketeers
 are ordered, which was the usual † resourse upon
 these

* In every page of *Pelison’s* letters one is surprised that a man, whom *Lewis XIVth.* had chosen for his Historiographer, should write so very badly. The lowness, barbarism, and false construction in his style are inconceivable. Besides, the manner in which he sometimes relates the circumstances of an action, manifestly discovers that he had never been in the army.

† At the siege of Ypres, in 1678, at the attack of the counter-
 scarp, *Our troops*, says *Pelison*, (Tom. III. p. 187) *did not*
display their usual vigour; a detachment of musqueteers, adds he,
consisting only of 50, changed the face of affairs; they placed
 themselves

these occasions; they quit their horses and begin to march on foot: the ditch seems filled up, the hedges vanish before them, and their impetuous speed outstrips and renders fruitless the fire of the enemy; they come up with these Colossus's armed with pikes, break in upon and overthrow them, and demonstrate to the world, that real strength depends upon superiority of the soul. Then leaving the completion of the defeat and carnage to the battalions who followed them, they lastly return to mount their horses, and shew themselves ready to execute any fresh orders they may receive. This soon happened: * they charged and put to flight a numerous body of cavalry, who were making different movements upon their left, with a view to advance towards

* St.

themselves in the front of the whole, without saying a word but *Gare*, [Have a care.] as if they were only going to cross some way. They threw themselves into the counterscarp sword in hand, and forced the enemy to abandon it. Ypres capitulated the next day.

In 1691, at the siege of Mons, the two battalions ordered to attack the horn-work, being repulsed, and seeming dismayed, *Lewis XIVth.* said with some indignation that *he would send other troops that would not retreat.* In fact the musqueteers whom he sent next day took the place.

* *Mémoires des expéditions militaires de la guerre de Hollande.*

* St. Omer, into which they wanted to throw in succours. The day following these memorable exploits, the King's brother, when sending orders to the Commanders of the different Companies, wrote to them, " That they had begun the victory, and given a happy turn to the whole affair."

I shall not follow them to the sieges of Ypres, Courtrai, Philippsburgh, Mons and Namur. † The actions which they performed at these places are no less deserving of being consecrated in the military *Faſti* of the nation, than those which I have just mentioned ; but it not being my design to undertake their history, it only remains, that I consider them in those unfortunate moments, in those fatal circumstances, which may perhaps be looked upon as the real criterion of true courage. The battle of Ramilies was fought on the 23d of May, 1706, which was Whit-Sunday. Our army consisted of 40,000 men, that of the enemy of 65 thousand. The King's guards, the
Gens

* The King's brother laid siege to St. Omer, and had marched before the Prince of Orange, who came to succour that place.

† At the attack of the Casotte, M. de Maupertuis told them, if any one of them hurried out of his rank before the action became general, he had orders to put him to death, the King having observed with great concern that their violent ardour was sometimes fatal to them.

Gens d'Armes, the light horse, the musketeers and the horse grenadiers composed the first line of our right wing; they penetrated and broke four lines of the enemy's left wing, and took several prisoners and 6 pieces of cannon. But it was easy for the Duke of Marlborough to snatch the victory out of their hands, by availing himself of the bad dispositions our Generals had made, and of the blunders they committed during the action. Six battalions, with some regiments of dragoons, who were posted in the valley of Tavieres must have been much too feeble to protect and cover the flank of our right wing; an impassable morass between our left wing and the enemy's right, prevented their reciprocally acting against each other; so that Marlborough risking nothing by weakening his right wing which could not be attacked, drew fifty squadrons from thence to strengthen his left wing; by this means the King's household, who had penetrated and broke four lines of this left wing, saw fresh squadrons forming themselves all of a sudden before them, and the four lines which had been beaten and dispersed, rallying behind the squadrons. Marlborough at the same time ordered all his reserve to attack the battalions which we had posted in the valley of Tavieres. They could not resist the superiority of numbers, and by their being routed all the side of our right wing

wing became exposed. The cavalry which constituted the second line of this wing, behind the King's household, endeavoured to make head, by supporting themselves on the right, and making a movement upon the left; but this Evolution could not be executed quick enough in the face of an enemy who advanced with rapidity, and flanked them. The nearest squadrons were overpowered, the others took to flight; the king's household, attacked in front, flank and rear, made the best of their way, and joined the left wing. We see that whilst Marlborough was drawing off troops from his right wing to strengthen his left wing, if our Generals had, in the like manner, drawn from their left wing a reinforcement for their right, and particularly for the 6 battalions in the valley of Tavieres, it is highly probable that the victory would have remained on our side. We find again by the accounts of the enemy, that the loss was nearly equal on both sides, that they did not think of pursuing us; that in that case they would only have gained by the whole of the action the empty honour of having remained masters of the field; that our left wing with the King's household made their retreat calmly, and without being hurt; that even the infantry and cavalry of the right wing, though beaten, retired in pretty good

good order, when an unforeseen * accident rendered the labours of the day one of the most fatal to France. Some waggons breaking down in a defile, and the passage being stopt up, they thought they heard the enemy pursuing them; the disappearing of their generals, and the little confidence they reposed in them, doubtless increased their panic: they separate and fly on all sides. Marlborough receiving intelligence of this by the scouts he had before, detaches part of his cavalry and dragoons, who fall upon these disordered troops, and did not begin to make prisoners till they were wearied of slaughter. The baggage, artillery, caissons, and every thing was taken.

I shall not enter into any detail upon the battle of Malplaquet. The household troops charged the enemy's cavalry four times, and four times shook and drove them back upon their infantry. When we abandoned the field of battle, they composed the rear guard: they resembled a wounded lion retiring: as soon as the enemy who followed us came near, they turned about upon them, and the pursuers recoiled. The musketeers upon this occasion demonstrated to what a pitch honour can captivate nature and command reputation:

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reputation:

* Vide the continuation of Rapin de Thoiras's history of England.

reputation : this corps who are painted in such lively and striking colours, eager to attack, and burning with impatience under the hand that controuls them, continued for five hours exposed to the fire of a battery of 30 pieces of cannon ; their countenances steady and composed in this situation, and in those critical moments, when it is not allowed to quit one's rank even to strike at the thunderbolt that is lighting, and when even this attack must be at the price of life. So natural a step would be construed as a mark of weakness ; one must wait for death, remain motionless before it, see it and stare it in the face for whole hours, dealing destruction on all sides.

At the siege of Philippsburg in 1734, when the King's household entered into the lines, the musqueteers continued to be exposed for a considerable time, to a very brisk cannonade, and supported it with the same coolness ; yet at that time we had just issued from a long peace, and the greatest part had never before been in action. Could we be sparing of Eulogiums upon a corps when honour and great reputation seem impressed upon the soul of a young man, as soon as he enters it ? When at Ramillies, Malplaquet and Dettingen, they gathered up their bloody remains which the enemy had not the boldness to attack, do they appear in a less advantageous point of light, than
when

when we saw them raising trophies to their master in the plains of Fontenoy?

A more ample Explanation of the System of the Druids: (See p. 288 of Vol. I.

* The Druids taught that souls were in an eternal circulation from this world to the other, and from the other world to this; that is to say, that what is called Death, was an entrance into the other world, and what is called life, was an issuing from thence to return to this world. That † after death the soul passed into some other body; and that the inequality of conditions and the proportion of pleasure and pain, was regulated in the other world, by the good or ill that had been done in this. That at the end of a certain period, souls quitted the bodies wherein they had been happy or unhappy in the other world, and returned to inhabit new ones in this world. That by fighting valiantly for ones country §, by offer-

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* *Diodorus Sicul.*

† *Lucan L. 1. vers 454. & seqq.*

§ The Druids, says *Cæsar*, taught the *Gauls* that souls do not die, but that they pass from one to another after death; and it is from this doctrine, he adds, that these people draw that courage which makes them brave death with so much intrepidity:

ing ones self as a victim in a time of public calamity, or by killing ones self to save * the life of ones prince, patron or friend, all possible crimes were expiated, and an agreeable and glorious life, for several ages, amongst Heroes, was thereby insured.

A proof that this was the system of transmigration taught by the Druids, is, that the Gauls burnt † with the deceased his arms, and cloaths, together with such animals as he had seemed fondest of. They believed then, as I have just observed, that there was another world, where there were the same ranks and distinctions, the same pleasures and pains, the same amusements and the same afflictions as in this, and where the same bodies reappeared, probably like the shadows

trepidity: *Non interire animas, sed ab aliis ab alios transire; atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto.* De Bello Gallico, L. 6. num. 13.

* They imagined that the anger of the Gods might be appeased, and that one life might be redeemed by another. Thus, when they were ill, and in danger of dying, they sent for some one that would be willing to die in their stead, whom they found for money, because he who killed himself, abstracted from the money which he left his family, was in hopes of a happier life than that which he quitted.

† *Omniaque vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia.* Cæsar de Bello Gallico, Lib. VI. cap. 17.

dows which the Greeks and Romans imagined in the Elysian fields and Tartarus; but they did not like the Greeks and Romans, believe that the rewards and punishments of souls, after death, were eternal; they were only, according to them, of a longer or shorter duration, and consisted in being placed in particular bodies. Moreover they said it was a testimony of affection towards relations or friends, to send them at all risks into the other world, whatever might be useful and agreeable to them.

The Metempsychosis of *Pythagoras* appears more simple and natural. It is needless to object, that in order to say the soul is really punished, it must remember that in an anterior life, being in such a particular body, it was guilty of such and such bad actions. To this objection I reply, that a *Pythagorean* who finds himself in misery, says to himself that since he suffers, he has doubtless deserved it, by the manner in which he behaved in his former life, and thus, according to *Pythagoras*, the object of the Divinity is obtained, because its object is to estrange men from vice, and to excite them to virtue, by offering them rewards or punishments.

The conformities, Alterations and Differences observable in our Manners, Usages and Customs.

The humour of the Germans, says Tacitus, is to be busied about nothing, and to have a surprising antipathy to repose.

They are very anxious about the choice of their Generals, and less careful of the character of their Soldiers than of his who commands them.

Affairs of small importance are judged, and finally determined by the Prince; but all matters of consequence are laid before a General Meeting of the States, where the Sovereign's Opinion is first called for; the Grandees next deliver their Sentiments, and they are listen'd to with a Respect suitable to their Age, Birth and Valour: if their advice displeases the Assembly it is disapproved

(P. 114 Fr.) of this Vol.

I said that Alberic made Robert the strong descend from Vitikint, which I found upon the authority of this passage in his chronicle, anno 921. *Dux Theodoricus fuit de genere Guithicindi, & habuit tres fratres Guitecin, Immir & Regenben, & ex hac serie istorum quatuor fratrum descendit nobilitas Saxonie, Italie, Germanie, Gallie, &c.*

* Of the manners of the Germans, c. 15.

§ Ibid. c. 30.

|| Ibid. c. 11.

proved of by a Murmur; but if the Speech is acceptable to the plurality, they express their Applause by striking on their shields with their spears. This military encomium is, among them, reckoned the most respectful manner of praising.

“ The French paid such regard to my Father’s judgment, (said Charles the Bald,) that they thought fit to be governed by his Opinion; and the Religious Part of this Nation in a General Assembly enacted, that his Commands should be perpetually obeyed.”

No German was allowed to walk in Arms without the permission of his fellow Citizens: so soon as a youth was fit to carry arms, his chief, father or guardian introduced him into the Assembly of the States, and there in a ceremonious manner delivered to him a javelin and a buckler.

Of old the Son of a Nobleman in France, so soon as he arrived at the age of fourteen years, went to Church with a Sash over one shoulder and a Sword by his side; his Father and Mother carried each of them a taper in their hand, and in this manner they led their son to the altar, where they presented him to the Priest while he was pronouncing the Offertory: the Priest took the Sword from the young Nobleman, blessed it and returned it to the Youth, who held it naked

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in his hand during all the rest of the Service, then put it up in its sheath by his side; and from that moment he was entitled to wear that honourable mark of distinction due to his rank.

In the year 1663 the Bishop of * * * thought proper to give his first footman the name of Valet de Chambre, and made him wear a sword. The next day when the Officers of the garrison went to the Governor's levy, they found him shaving; the Barber was one of his servants dressed in a Band and Cassock: from that time every vagabond or rogue, or mean Poltroon, whose manners were as base as his birth, might, without being liable to censure, chuse, in a morning, whether he will dress himself like a Gentleman, with a Sword by his Side, or appear in a Band, and wearing the badge of the most venerable Order of Men.

The poverty of the Germans gave birth to the barbarous custom of giving all, or the greatest part of their estates to the eldest son. As many of them could not bear the expence of bringing up all their children at home, the father chose which of them he would detain in his house, in order to be his heir, and sent the rest begging.

When the Sicambrij, a clan in France, began to retire and fly from the field of battle, their Women met them, uncovered their bosoms, and

and said, "Strike there ye cowards, we wish
 "that ye would slay us rather than expose us to
 "the disgrace attendant on Slavery." This be-
 haviour and these reproaches raised the courage
 of the Sicambrij, and alarmed their pride; they
 rallied, returned to the charge, repulsed and en-
 tirely defeated the enemy, who had supposed
 themselves in possession of the victory. One of
 their Historians pretends, that in commemoration
 of the share their women had in the honour of
 that day, they were from that time permitted to
 let their breasts remain bare, and that this fa-
 shion, which still prevails, owed its origin to
 the undaunted behaviour of their females on that
 occasion.

The Germans imagined that there was some-
 what * Divine in young Maidens.

When our Sovereigns made their entry into any
 of their cities, it was usual that a young Maid of
 distinction drest in white, deck'd with flowers,
 and her hair waving in the wind, walked in the
 procession before the Mayor and Sheriffs, ha-
 rangued the Prince, and presented the keys of the
 Town.

H 4

It

* They fancied that in Virgins there was somewhat holy,
 and entitling more immediately to the Divine protection. Tac.
 c. 8. on the Manners of the Germans.

It was essential in ancient Chivalry for each Knight to have *his Lady*, to whom, as to a Divinity, he reported all his designs, thoughts and performances. It was then the general persuasion that LOVE improved to the greatest pitch of perfection the young Nobility, and was the chief motive in great enterprizes. "Oh if my Lady" "was a spectator of this action!" said Fleuranges, when he was the first that mounted the walls at an assault.

A man of courage almost always regards his wife as a friend; but there is nothing more certain than that cowards are always imperious and tyrannical in their behaviour to their spouses and in their families. The meanest rascal will have a dog, that he may not want some creature to domineer over.

It is an old Proverb, *That if the Devil was to come to this World in order to fight a duel, there is not a Frenchman who would not strive to be the first to accept the challenge.*

When any Chevalier died that had distinguished himself for integrity, impartiality, and shining valour, princes of the highest rank, and even kings were ambitious of the honour of being possessed of his sword or battle horse. The Duke of Orleans, Brother of *Charles VI.* demanded the spear of *John Beaumont*, a Chevalier of Brittany,

Brittany, offering at the same time a very considerable marriage portion to the daughter of this valiant Gentleman. But although she had no fortune, *William Rofnivinen* married her, refused the portion offered by the Duke, and kept his father in law's spear.

Anciently none but the Nobility enjoyed the privilege of setting up Fanes upon their houses; nay, it is even alledged that none could aspire to that mark of distinction unless they had been the foremost at scaling the walls in an assault on some city, or had first planted their banner or pendant upon the ramparts. Fanes were painted with armorial bearings, and represented banners or pendants of Nobility.

Of old the Frenchman no sooner slew his Foe than he cut off his head, carried it home, and * nailed it over his gate; this was never neglected in case the deceased had been esteemed a man of eminent valour. It is probable that this practice has given rise to that of fixing in the same manner the carcass of birds of prey, or the heads of carnivorous animals over the entry into fortresses.

H 6

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* It was prohibited by the Salic law, which was the ancient Law of France, to take down these heads after they were fixed to their doors.

The God Irmensul adored by the Saxons, whose Temple Charlemain destroyed, was there imaged under the plain appearance of a long stone, on which was engraved the figure of the Sun shining, and dispensing his rays all over nature.

In Brittany *hirr* signifies long, *main* a stone, and *ful* the Sun, which is a manifest proof that the language of that province is a dialect of the ancient Celtic.

There are in France above three thousand convents for the reception of persons in religious orders, mendicant or industrious. But how many hospitals have we got for impoverished officers and maimed soldiers? Only One. When was it founded? many ages ago? Not so, nor till the year 1671, when *Lewis XIV.* ordered it to be built, many centuries after there were several foundations of Nuns and Friars settled all over the kingdom. "Our kings, says Father Daniel, "in several monasteries which they founded, reserved the right of presenting a maimed soldier, "to be maintained in the Abbacy, and entitled "to a Monk's portion, upon condition of his "performing some menial services, such as sweeping the chapel and ringing the bell. This "man was called the *Lay-Monk*, or the *Presen-*
"tee.

* See p. 51. & 53. v. II. of these essays.

“ *see.* This foundation, (adds this author) was
 “ too narrow a provision for all the Military that
 “ were disabled in the wars; (and he also re-
 “ marks, that the imposition of these servile du-
 “ ties upon the unhappy foldier greatly debased
 “ the importance of the military man.”

In the twelfth age a Monk of St. Medard of Soissons, named *Guernon*, when at the point of death, openly acknowledged that he had forged many charters in favour of Monasteries in different parts of Christendom.

So soon as the Latin language ceased to be the vulgar Tongue, it became a regulation in the church, that all persons that entered into orders should be masters of Latin. Although this prudent custom began to be neglected in the twelfth age, yet it is manifest that it ought to have continued.

About the beginning of the twelfth century, a heretic, named *Tanchelin* was so much revered in all the provinces of France, that they drank his urine, and preserved his excrements as carefully as if they had been holy Relicks. The profits which the promoters of that Sect drew from this

* *Trevoux's Journal*, March 1716.

|| Latin ceased to be the vulgar Tongue in the ninth age, in the reign of Lewis the kind.

† *Mezeray*, vol. ii. p. 173.

this general infatuation were so great, that they defrayed the expence of the impostor's table, which was always plentifully furnished with all the delicacies in season. So extravagant was this universal phrensy, that fathers requested him to debauch their daughters, and husbands thought themselves happy if he deigned to lie with their wives.

An inhabitant of Padua was the inventor of paper about the beginning of the fourteenth age, but it was not known and used in France for the purpose of writing on, in lieu of parchment, till the reign of Philip of Valois. It is made of linen rags pounded together and ground by means of a water-mill, and afterwards spread out into leaves or sheets.

* In 1471, *Lewis XI.* being desirous of ornamenting his library with a copy of Doctor *Rafis's* works, he borrowed the original from the faculty of Physicians at Paris, and gave them in security for this manuscript ninety six ounces of silver, twenty pounds sterling, and a merchant's promissory note for one hundred crowns. It appears extremely odd, that a sovereign prince should not only give pledges, but also City security for a book, which he borrowed within his own dominions. But from this and other incidents we learn,

* Additions to the Memoirs of Comines, vol. iv. p. 39.

learn, how very difficult it was to come at books, and how dear they were for many years after the art of Printing was invented. That valuable art was found out at Strasburgh or Mentz in 1440, and there were some Printers settled at Paris so early as 1470. In that very year one of the first books that ever was printed, was dedicated to *Lewis XIth.* and next year, that is in 1471, the same Monarch borrowed a book, in order to obtain a manuscript copy of it. We are told, but with what truth I cannot say, that 20,000 persons then maintained themselves in France by the sale of books which they copied; and that for this reason Printing was then a very unpopular employment.

Was there ever seen a specimen of ignorance and impropriety equal to that of the celebrated *Lewis Cigoli*. This Painter, in a picture of the Circumcision of the Holy Child Jesus, drew the High Priest Simeon with spectacles on his nose, upon a supposition, that, in respect of his great age, that aid would be necessary in order to enable him to perform the operation he was then engaged in. It is however certain, that the ancients knew nothing of the use of spectacles with respect to assisting the eyes; and that, of consequence, they had none. *Salvino Degli Armati*, a Florentine, invented that improvement of the Sight,

Sight, about the end of the 13th. or the beginning of the 14th. Century. Some new discoveries are rather hurtful than beneficial to Mankind; by this they endeavour to strengthen our eyes, but in fact they are weakened by it. Many who would have read without them till their death, even tho' their age had been of an extraordinary length, by accustoming themselves to spectacles, contract such a habit, that they can never more read without glasses.

Pope John the XXIIId. in the year 1329, when preaching upon that view of God which happy Spirits enjoy in the life to come, had asserted that the souls of the Saints would not be blessed with a full and perfect perception of the Divine presence, till after the resurrection and final judgment. He also sent two legates into France with positive Orders to maintain and propagate that opinion. Philip of Valois, then King of France, convoked, at the castle of Vincennes, a Synod of all the Doctors of Divinity, Bishops and Abbots then in Paris, for the determination of this question. The unanimous decision of that Assembly was, that, immediately after the death of Jesus Christ, the Souls of the Blessed in Heaven were admitted to as a perfect view of the Divinity, as after the general Resurrection, according to St. Paul's express declaration, who tells

tells us, that we shall after this life see the Almighty *face to face*. Philip of Valois sent this decision to Rome, at the same time enjoining, that the first Venter of this error should be burnt, if he did not retract his opinion. *

* The Abbot of St. Peter's pretends that we should let the Divinity schools be annihilated, that those disputes might be dropped which are there agitated relative to the sacred impenetrable mysteries of our Religion; these venerable truths being proper objects of our adoration, but by no means fit to be treated as subjects of disputation, since the human understanding is by far too weak to explain them. According to this Abbot Cardinal Richlieu ought to be highly blamed for founding at a great expence the Divinity College of *Robert Sorbon*, where young Ecclesiastics are taught, says he, to dispute with uncommon bitterness, and maintain with an unexampled pride questions in Divinity that are purely speculative. " To permit Theological Disputes of this sort, " and to found Halls for this purpose, (added this " Divine,) is to employ Scholars to exert their " abilities in disturbing our consciences and so- " menting errors, schisms, and heresies in the " church;

* Hist. of Paris by D. Felibien and D. Lobineau, vol. i. b. 12. p. 588.

§ Annals of Politics, vol. i. p. 38.

“ church ; not to say that factions are often
 “ thereby formed in the State, which is abso-
 “ lutely contrary to the dictates of sound policy,
 “ whose principal object is to preserve concord
 “ and tranquillity.”

We acknowledge without reluctance that we are mistaken when we debate on Subjects that do not concern our Profession ; but we cannot without great difficulty be brought to own our ignorance in matters which we are supposed to have studied ; probably because a confession of this nature would be too severe a mortification of our Pride.

Religious wars are never mentioned, either among the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, or in the histories of any ancient Nations. Such a Solecism in Ethics was reserved for Christianity. But how is it possible that such inhumanity should have taken its rise among the Professors of a Religion which so strongly recommends Benevolence and Charity ?

When Jesus Christ was on a journey to Jerusalem, * he sent messengers before him to take lodgings for him and his disciples in a Samaritan Town. The inhabitants not only refused to receive, but also insulted him. “ Will you allow
 “ us,

* Luke xi. 11.

“us, Sir, (said his disciples,) to command fire
 “from Heaven whereby to destroy these wicked
 “wretches?” Our Saviour by way of Reproof
 to their warmth replied, *By what Spirit are ye
 animated? The Son of Man came not to slay but
 to preserve Mankind.* He then went forwards to
 another Town and lodged there.

During the Wars with the Albigenſes, * the
 army of the Church, then called the Cruifade,
 laid ſiege to Beziers, where there were many
 heretics, but more Catholics. As the beſiegers
 marched on to ſcale the walls, their officers en-
 quired of the Pope’s Legate what muſt be done,
 when there was no poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing
 Catholics from Heretics. “Kill them all, (ſaid
 “the Legate,) God will know his own.” In
 conſequence of this cruel direction, all the inha-
 bitants of this unhappy Town, amounting to
 above ſixty thouſand perſons, were put to the
 ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

Father *Daniel* pretends, that, from the firſt
 foundation of the French Monarchy, § our kings
 were always attended with guards, and, to prove
 this aſſertion, he quotes *Gregory* of Tours, and
 an ancient chronicle. *Gregory* of Tours relates,
 “That King *Gontran*, being diffident of ſome of
 “*Fredegand*’s

* History of Languedoc.

§ History of the Military of France, vol. xi. p. 92.

“*Fredegonde*’s followers, and having received in-
 “formation that one *Farolph* intended to murder
 “him, he always afterwards took particular care
 “of * himself, and became so cautious that he
 “never went abroad without guards.” The
 old chronicle bears, “That *Philip*, surnamed
 “*August*, having got accounts that the old Man
 “of the Mountains had dispatched some emissa-
 “ries § to assassinate him, he had recourse to the
 “protection of guards, and chose a select com-
 “pany, whom he called Sergeants of the Mess,
 “to attend him, by rotation, both day and
 “night, under the name of *Body Guards*.” For
 my part I think it a more natural deduction from
Gregory of Tours, that our Princes of the first
 Race had no Guards, unless when extraordinary
 circumstances of danger obliged them to have
 recourse to this precaution. And the quotation
 from the old Chronicle seems, in my opinion,
 to instruct us, that *Philip the August* of the third
 race of Kings was the first Monarch of France
 that ever was attended in ordinary by Guards: so
 that Father *Daniel* seems to have been mistaken,
 when he says that *Charlemagne* was the first who
 had a Guard of his own.

* He went neither to Church nor any where else without Guards, Book vii. c. 8 and 18.

§ Like Ja. Clement they believed that they would go directly to Paradise if they fell in the execution of their Chief’s orders.

and refuted by those authorities which he cited in support of his own opinion.

It was formerly the custom to bestow on Sovereign Princes the titles of *Most Illustrious, Your Serenity and Grace*; but of late it has become usual to address them with the respectable appellation of MAJESTY. This practice never was thoroughly established till the reign of *Lewis the XIth.* a Prince whose Person and Conduct was greatly inferior to many of his Ancestors. He was not ashamed to appear upon the most solemn Occasions, on days of the greatest State and Ceremony, in a Surtout and Doublet made of very coarse Cloth, a leather cap that covered even his Ears, and a very dirty Bonnet, to which he hung little heads of *our Lady*. In this Dress he gave Audience to Ambassadors, sitting in a nasty arm'd Chair, with an ugly Dog upon his knee. In the accounts of his Family expence there is an article of fifteen pence for two new sleeves to an old waistcoat.

The Spanish historian *Ferreras* relates of *D. Juan*, king of Castille, that he received the French Ambassadors upon a very magnificent Throne, with a very large Lion at his feet, which he had tamed.

Our Kings never honoured with the address of *Cousin* any person that was not really related to
to

to them by Blood. If they wrote to Peers, great Officers of State, or Cardinals, they called them *Very dear and faithful Friend*. Our Princes never had so many *Cousins* before *Francis the First*, when this custom commenced, which was in the year 1550.

Our Queens used always to go abroad in an open Chair or on horseback, till Catherine of Medicis thought proper to take the Air in a Coach. The first President caused one to be made for him, because he was troubled with the Gout, but his Wife came to Paris on horseback, sitting behind one of the footmen.

These Coaches resembled Post-Chaises, with large Hangings of Leather, which were taken down that the People might get in, and then the Curtain was put up again. If there had been glasses in *Henry the 1st's* Coach, perhaps he had never been murdered. *Bassompierre*, in the reign of *Lewis the XIIIth*, was the first that projected a small Coach with Glasses. During the minority of *Lewis the XIVth*, almost all the people of fashion visited on horseback, if they were in health: they appeared in the apartments of the Ladies in Assemblies, and sat at Table in their boots, without even taking off their Spurs. There were only 310, or at most 320 Coaches

in

in Paris in the Year 1658 ; and now their number exceeds 14,000.

The Writers on the Subject of Luxury, whether for or against it, ought to have observed that Magnificence should not be confounded with Luxury ; but none of them have regarded this just distinction. Magnificence is essential in a Monarchical State, and absolutely necessary to be kept up amongst the Nobility. It produces, encourages and supports all useful and pleasing Arts. Magnificence doth not spring from Pride. It takes its rise from a certain greatness of Soul, but is not inconsistent with a decent oeconomy upon some Occasions, that on others a grand appearance may be made, suitable to the Rank of the Possessor, when circumstances require Splendor and Shew to be the principal objects of Attention. On the other hand the Luxurious Person seems to insult Mankind ; for Luxury is an everlasting and frivolous dissipation of Substance. It is the delight and triumph of a mean Soul. It takes its birth from, and is nourished by a ridiculous Inclination to appear to be what we are not, by putting ourselves, with respect to Shew, upon a level with Persons of a higher Rank. The perpetual longing after Superfluities that always haunts the Luxurious makes them insensible to the real necessities of others, nor can they relieve their wants.

It

It inspires the worst sort of Pride, whereby the Luxurious are made bad Relations, bad Friends, and worse Citizens. Luxury, say some, engages us to improve Manufactures for the sake of the new Modes and superfluous Novelties which it daily invents. The Produce of these Manufactures goes to foreign Markets, and brings back into France all the wealth of Europe. If it is so, and if Riches be preferable to an upright Morality, this sort of Luxury may be tolerated. But for what reason is the Government blind to the inconceivable swarm of Lackeys now in the Kingdom? Since the year 1720 their number has encreased in Paris and the Provinces above two thirds to what they were formerly. For this unaccountable Phenomenon many reasons may be assigned. In the first place there is hardly now a Citizen to be found so mean-spirited as to be without one Lackey, or something drest up like a Lackey; though perhaps his Mother had not even a servant Maid to wait on her. In the next place, although in families of the first distinction there were only heretofore two Lackies for *Madam*, a valet de chambre and two lackies for the Master of the family, yet *now* in such Houses there must be two Valets de chambre and three Lackies for *Madam*, with the same number of Valets de chambre and Lackies for *Monsieur*. In
the

the third place, although in such families there were only in the Kitchen a Cook-maid, and a wench beneath her to do the drudgery, yet our People of Fashion must now have a Man-Cook, under-Cooks, and an Officer of the Kitchen, with his boys under him, to keep all in nice order. To these differences in Economy add the great encrease of Coaches, and consequently of Coachmen, and then you will be able to form some idea of the great depopulation occasioned thereby annually, in all the different Countries from whence these supernumerary numbers of Domestics come. By considering these things in a proper manner, you will be convinced that, in a few ages, France will not be able to furnish one half of the hands necessary for Agriculture and the Marine.

A Nobleman or other Person of high Rank might be distinguished in public by a page before his Coach, with only one footman behind it. A page in this attitude would not only serve to confer a sufficient mark of distinction, but also be attended with this further advantage on the side of Vanity, that Men of Fortune, who have no other title to Rank but their wealth, would not then be obliged to have recourse to the expensive expedient of three or four footmen behind their Coach, for the sake of attracting the public attention.

tion. Such a crowd of servants in livery, without one page in a plain dress, is a proof of an uncommon haughtiness of temper, but not such an evidence of a refined taste as this appointment of one page with a single footman only. As to Judges or Magistrates, it is certain that a plain coach is more decent and respectable than one that is varnished with Colours, and loaded with a heap of Footmen in rich liveries, whose glittering attire is quite inconsistent with the Modesty of the Dress of Magistrates and Senatorial Gravity.

Gilles le Maitre, first President of the Parliament in the reign of *Henry the II.* caused this stipulation to be inserted in all the leases of his lands near Paris, That at the four great Festivals of the Year, and at Vintage time, they should furnish him with a covered Waggon and clean straw in its bottom for his Wife and Daughter; and also bring along with them a male or female Ass for their Maid-servant to ride on at the Processions. He always rode before them upon a Mule, attended by his Clerk a foot.

Francis Montholon, Keeper of the Great Seal, attended *Francis the I.* to Rochelle, when there was an Insurrection there. That Prince made him a Present of the Fine which he condemned the Rochellers in. *Montholon* released it upon Condition that they should build in their City an Hospital

Hospital for sick Persons. The Fine amounted to two hundred thousand livres. The Chancellor lodged with his whole family in a small corner house between St. *Andrew's* Street and that of *Gillicur*, in which there were only one Hall and a little Kitchen on the Ground-floor, on the first floor two chambers, the same in the second, with a Garret over head on the third floor.

There were found lying by a Jew that died at Paris, and who had neither Wife, Relations nor Child, fifty thousand Crowns. *Henry the III.* made a Present of the half of this Treasure to *Geoffry Camus* of Port-carre. This worthy Magistrate sent for three young Merchants, Partners, that had lately been ruined by a fire, and gave them the whole of it, amounting to twenty-five thousand Crowns. His Wife thought it an indecent piece of Luxury to wear a pair of silk Stockings, which an Aunt of hers, married to a Gentleman of Distinction, presented her for a new Year's Gift.

Never King levied more Taxes, or squandered away so much Money, in a manner so frivolous as *Henry the II.* yet no sooner did the news arrive at Court of the loss of the battle of St. *Quintin*, than the Merchants of Paris called a meeting of their whole body, and of their own accord made him a free Gift of one hundred thousand crowns.

Every one of the great Barons offered to fortify and defend at his own Expence one Pass or Station of consequence. The Marshal Duke of Brifac wrote to the King, entreating him to accept of all his Revenues, with a reservation of two thousand livres a year for the support of his family. About two years afterwards the same Prince terrified by a false prospect of danger, sent orders to his Plenipotentiaries at Cambray to sign the treaty of Peace. No sooner was this noised abroad than the greatest part of the Corporations, though incredibly distressed with heavy imposts, addressed their Sovereign with offers of more men and money for carrying on the war, in case he would refuse to ratify a Treaty, whereby France parted with such considerable conquests, which had been the price of so much blood and treasure. Such were our Ancestors at that time, and when? When their Morals were more depraved than ever before, but their characteristic of unfulfilled Loyalty was then as fair as formerly. The depravity of Morals is nearly equal at all times, but the decay of National character always presages that Kingdoms fall where this unlucky Omen is observed. By National Character I mean, an implanted respectful Consideration for its Reputation. This sort of Self-love or Self-estimation is a continual source of emulation in

in our Country's cause, and of Strength and Harmony in the State.

We cannot inspire young people with too strong an esteem for their countrymen, if it be true that the more any person cherishes and loves his own kindred, the farther he is removed from vicious practices.

Our Histories frequently present us with shining Examples of Humanity, Impartiality, Courage, and a strong attachment to Glory. Why are not these exemplary Lives often laid before and impressed upon our Youth in Schools and Universities? The great Actions of the Greeks and Romans cannot so effectually strike our Minds, or rouse us to Imitation, as those of our Ancestors. These inspire us with greater ardour, and infuse a more active Spirit of Emulation.

The honest Man interests himself the more in the concerns of his Compatriots, that he regards them as the witnesses of his Conduct in life: the rogue and the Man of yesterday who is just come from the Dunghill wishes for a Mortality or a Pestilence.

We have seen in our Days what our Fathers never dreamt of; we have seen French Writers attempt to infuse into Mankind a Spirit of Contempt of the Female Sex. We have also seen

Frenchmen incessantly undervaluing their own Country for the sake of propagating a high Opinion of a neighbouring Nation.

Our Ancestors debarred from their Assemblies and Tournaments all persons who were accused of mentioning the Ladies in a slighting manner. It was not owing to a principle of Humanity or gallantry that they acted in this way ; no. Their Conduct in this respect was influenced by Views purely political ; they were persuaded, that the greater respect is paid to Women, the more anxious Women will be to merit our esteem ; that a Tutor may improve their Disposition ; that the softer Sex form their notions of Reputation at that age when Love engages us to offer them the first fruits of our Passions ; that several great Men remarkable for elevated Sentiments would perhaps never have aspired to that high distinction, if an inclination to appear amiable in the eyes of the *Fair* had not spurred them on to approve themselves worthy of the highest Regard.

The City of Falaise joined in the League against *Henry the IV.* That Prince besieged and was actually storming it when *la Chenay*, a Merchant, then in love with a girl of his own rank, proposed to his Sweetheart a scheme for her escaping in safety. *As I am persuaded*, said she, *that you do not intend to desert your fellow citizens*
while

while in action, though sincerely anxious for my safety, the proposal you have now made neither lessens the esteem or Love I entertain for you; and, to prove the truth of what I say, I declare myself ready to unite my destiny with yours, by ties that cannot be dissolved. But our marriage must be solemnized at the breach; there I will plight you my faith: come along, follow me. She no sooner had ended her speech than she flew to the walls, Her Lover's tears and entreaties were all thrown away to no purpose. On she went till she came to the ramparts. There, says Mezeray, they fought with such intrepidity that Henry the IV. an admirer of Virtue, commanded his troops to spare their lives, if it was practicable: but la Chenay was slain by a musket ball, and after he fell, his Bride refused to accept of quarter, but continued fighting till she was mortally wounded. Then she withdrew to her Lover's corpse, that their blood might be mixed together, and in her last moments she held him fast in her arms, till death closed her eyes for ever.

The Bards § among the Gauls were Poets, and reputed Persons of great consequence. They

I 4

marched

§ Bard, in the Language of Brittany signifies a Poet, and Buddonég a Poem, and still in France wandering Poets that go from

marched at the head of their armies singing the Praises of their Country, and of those that had given proofs of an extraordinary Valour, or were most prodigal of their blood in the service of the Public. Under the first Race of our Kings, always under the second, and often under the third, while the army was drawing up in order of Battle, it was usual to sing Panegyrics of that sort till the signal was given for the Onset. Then the shout * of War drowned all other sounds.

It cannot be doubted that Military Songs or *Catches* strongly amuse and greatly relieve the Mind of the Soldier amidst the toils of War. They are of use to divert him while he is employed in marching, and maintain in the camp a Martial gaiety. If the Chaplains of the army should take upon them to give directions concerning the defence of the lines, what would the

General

from town to town chanting the praises of great Men, are filled Bards. They always play on the Harp while they sing. *Tacitus* says [Demor. Germ. cap. 3.] that it was customary among the Germans to compose songs in honour of their Heroes, in which their most remarkable achievements were celebrated; and that, on the field, as they marched to battle, these verses were sung to the music of a Harp, in order to inflame the courage of the army.

* *Mont joie St. Denis* was usually called aloud by the French, as they marched on to the Charge, and every Knight Banneret had a particular word of call, by which he assembled his Vassals under his Standard.

General say? Tragedy and Comedy are of equal utility in Cities; they soften our manners, direct our desires to proper Objects, shew us a true picture of our errors and their evil consequences, teach us to hate Vice, reform our Conduct, and annihilate our Vanity.

We cultivate and exercise the Memories of our Youth in order to strengthen them: but it seems to me of more consequence to inure and accustom their minds to compassion by varied scenes of joy and sorrow; for that Man is very certainly most virtuous whose Passions are most disquieted at the sight of the misery of his fellow-creatures.

The monk contracts in the cloister a severe turn of Mind which renders him less sensible of the miseries annexed to human Nature. He never assists the distressed but out of a principle of Conscience; others relieve them in compassion of their wants. I honour the former, but I must love the latter.

I sometimes stop and amuse myself in observing two irrational animals at play together, but I hate the man that delights to set them a fighting, or him who is pleased with the sight of two creatures tearing each other.

Luther loved Poetry, and made a good figure in versifying. If he had always applied himself

to compositions of that sort, four or five millions of men would have died natural deaths that have been slain in the religious Wars of Germany.

The action of our Tragedies is pathetic and terrifying; that of the English enormously cruel. With us it is an indispensable Rule never to shed blood upon the Stage. In England the more blood is spilt, the more Men and Women slain, the more the Author is applauded. It is very common to see in the English Playhouses gibbets and flames; nay, they scruple not to shew in public the most dreadful prospects, such as that of a Husband familiarly conversing with his Wife; now caressing, and the next moment strangling her: or a fine young Lady weltring in her blood, with her hands cut off, or her tongue cut out of her head, after her Chastity has been forcibly violated. It is certain that the Polite Arts are not encouraged among that People any farther than it suits their predominant Whims to promote their progress. Nor is it less notorious that a Dramatic writer cannot hope to please in London, unless the Objects and Images which he presents in his piece be analogous to the Character, bent, and prevailing taste of the people. It may therefore be conjectured from the striking Difference observable between the French and English Theatrical

trical performances, that the Soul of an Englishman is sullen, fierce and cruel, but that of a Frenchman brisk, lively, impatient of Injuries, soon roused to wrath, but generous in his rage, always idolizing Honour, and incessantly obeying her voice, even when most disturbed by the violence of Passion, and never so much intoxicated by Wrath as not to be ready to entertain proposals of Reconciliation, and ever forward to forgive. Nay, what is very remarkable, he is always desirous of laying aside all Animosity so soon as he sees his Enemies blood.

The French in their Comedies represent Love, as being a tender Passion, delicate and sincere. In those of the English, Love is held forth to be a rude, brutal, and impudent desire of Enjoyment. The English make their Libertine on the Stage, speak and act in the chamber of lewdness like persons inflamed with the transports of Love; this may serve as another proof of the ferocity of the Nation; the ferocious Man is all sensation.

Let your son and daughter apply themselves every day to the reading of Corneille, interrogate and instruct them in the details and interest of every Scene: I question whether you can give them a better education.

If Corneille had been born in ancient Rome, he would have been the first man of the Republic:

the career to the great dignities of that government lay open to every citizen, and one might there be the artist of one's own fortune. In a monarchical state it is necessary to have Protectors at court, and it frequently happens that real merit is too modest to hope for them, or too haughty to seek them.

I am surprised that amongst the many authors who have written upon the original progress of our Stage, none have observed that Comedy has been for a long while one of the organs of politics in France, as it was anciently amongst the Athenians. The Court engaged the comic Poets to treat of matters relative to the State, and to mention the present situation of the Kingdom, in order to prepare the People for the levying of Taxes, by prepossessing, animating, and heating them upon the justice and necessity of the Wars that were undertaken. I could quote several examples of this, but I shall take notice only of one. *Lewis XII.* waged war against *Julius II.* who had basely imposed upon him, and who had the assurance moreover to renew the extravagant claims of some of his Predecessors upon the King's temporalities. A piece wherein this thundering Pontiff was personated under the name of the *Prince of Fools*, accompanied by *Mother-fool* who wanted to pass herself off for the Church, was

was represented at the *Halles* at Paris, upon Shrove-Tuesday 1511.

Mother-Fool,

Dressed in the Tiara and pontifical Habit, and underneath like a female Merry Andrew.

“ If I knew how to die like Abiram and
 “ Dathan, or was damned with Satan, would
 “ they come to my assistance? I would make
 “ every one run after me, to ask pardon and
 “ mercy at my Shrine. The temporal (Prince) *
 “ is desirous of acquiring my name and making
 “ it flourish. In a word this is my design. I call
 “ myself the Mother Church: I would have
 “ every one take notice that I damn and anathe-
 “ matize; but under the sacerdotal robe I wear
 “ the fool’s gown. I know it is said that I am
 “ doating, and that I have turned fool in my old
 “ age †: But my Sire the ‡ Prince will grumble ‡

* In allusion to the pretensions of *Julius I.* upon the temporality of Kings.

† *Julius II.* was at that time upwards of 70 years old.

‡ The kings of France are called the eldest sons of the church.

‡ *Julius II.* threatened France with being interdicted, and of exciting *Lewis XII.* the clergy of France, and the Parliament of Paris, to appear before him.

“ at

"at my gate in such a manner as will diminish
"his nobility."

She endeavours in another scene to draw over the French Lords to her party, but finding she cannot succeed, she addresses herself to such of the clergy as she has seduced, and says to them,

"Prelates arise, alarm, alarm --quit the
"church and altar---each of you be steady---
"As the assault is going to be given to the
"Princes, I would be there in (1) person."

To the assault, Prelates, to the assault.

The Prelates attack the French Lords, who repulse them, and drive them off the stage, after giving them a hearty drubbing. *Mother-Fool* is afterwards more closely examined, and is discovered not to be the Church: they laugh at her, and strip off the Tiara (2) and pontifical dress which she profaned.

Every one is acquainted with the Bickerings between *Philip the Fair* and *Boniface VIII.* *Philip the Fair* during the life of that Pope, and for a

(1) *Julius II.* put on the Cuirasse, and appeared in the Trenches with a Casque upon his head.

(2) Alluding to a council assembled at *Pisa*, to judge *Julius II.* and depose him.

considerable time after his death, had a Farce often acted at *Paris*, called the *Procession of the Fox*. A man covered with a Fox's skin, had a surplice put over it, and sung the epistle as a simple clerk; he afterwards appeared with a Mitre, and at length with the Tiara, *running after hens and chickens, which he craunched and ate, to signify the exactions of Boniface VIII.*

The Chancellor de l'Hopital, in a speech he made to the States-General at the opening of this meeting in 1561. said, that the good King *Lewis XII.* took pleasure in the representation of Farces and Comedies, even in such as were performed without much reserve, saying that thereby he became acquainted with many things that were done in his kingdom, which he would otherwise have been ignorant of.

I think it extremely useful for a King to be often at theatrical representations. They are the images of common life, and consequently of the vices, anxieties, misfortunes, and calamities which affect the different classes of his subjects. Dramatic pictures, it may be said, are only general. They do not mention names, I agree; but a King knows, at least, that such corruption, such abuse of his authority, and such little tyrannies exist: he knows it, and that is a great deal.

Philip de Comines says, that *Charles VIII.* had established

established a public audience, where he heard every one, and particularly the poor. Much business, adds he, was not done at these audiences, but it served at least to keep the people in awe, and principally his ministers and officers, some of whom he had suspended for malversation.

Lewis XIV. as he returned from Mals, always cast his eyes about him, and seemed by his air and look to invite people to approach him. A Swiss one day called out to clear the way, though there was room enough, and pushed several bystanders: *Do not you see*, said Lewis XIV. in an angry tone, *that there is a woman who wants to present a memorial to me?* The memorials that were presented to him he locked up in a little cabinet, and kept the key himself.

At Rome, those slaves who had cruel and unjust masters, repaired to the public square, and embraced the statute of the Emperor. This was an asylum, from whence they could not be forced, and it was the Emperor's duty, before he sat down to table, to send and see whether any one had taken refuge at the foot of his statue.

Our historians have seldom given themselves the trouble to transmit to us the particulars of ancient customs; they only mention them by the bye. The verbal process which the reader is going to peruse, and which I have copied from

from a MS. in the King's Library, contains the ceremonies which our Kings and the Princes of Europe observed before they began a war. They resemble in some respects the manner in which the Romans declared it; the Senate dispatched a Herald to the Frontiers of the Country which they had resolved to attack, and this Herald calling three men to witness the transaction, threw a dart into the Territories of the adverse Nation.

“*John Gratiolet*, secretary to the Herald of arms of France, by the title of Alençon, in virtue of the commission given at *St. Quintin* under the privy-seal, the 12th of the present month of May 1635, signed *Louis*, and underneath by the King, *Servien*, certifies to all those to whom it may belong, that having set out from Neuschatel upon Aine, the 12th of the said month in the said year, and having taken the route of the Low Countries to meet the Cardinal Infant of Spain, and having learnt that he was at Brussels, I repaired the 19th of the present month, at nine in the morning to the gate of the said city, called the gate de Hau, accompanied by *Gratian Elissavide*, the king's trumpeter in ordinary, and having taken my Coat of Arms in quality of Alençon, together with my cap and staff as in such cases required, I stopped

“ about

“ about 200 paces from the gate, whilst the said
“ trumpeter advanced to it, and sounded the *Chamades* in the usual manner. The said trumpeter
“ having observed four or five men who were
“ centinels at the gate, addressed himself to one
“ of them, telling him he conducted a Herald at
“ Arms from the King his master to the Cardinal
“ Infant; and this man having spoken to the
“ Serjeant Major of the said city, and the said
“ Serjeant having come up to me, I assured him
“ that I was come to speak with the said Cardinal
“ Infant. Then the said Serjeant Major returned
“ into the city to acquaint the Cardinal
“ of my arrival, and coming about twelve o'clock,
“ he informed me that this Prince had promised
“ to give me an audience, and had appointed
“ him to conduct me to the Serjeant Major's
“ house to wait till I could be received: the said
“ Serjeant Major desiring me, to that end, to be
“ pleased to come into the city without my
“ Herald's dress; but I declared to him I could
“ not quit it; he had with him *Golden Fleece*,
“ King at Arms of the Low Countries. Being
“ introduced into their company at the house of
“ the Serjeant Major, in the square of Sablon,
“ the Serjeant Major returned to the Prince's palace
“ to know the hour that I might be conducted
“ to his presence: he did not return till
“ two

“ two o'clock in the afternoon, when he assured
“ me that I should have an audience of the said
“ Prince, but that he was prevented giving it me
“ in council on account of his departure which
“ would be about four o'clock, to go and lie at
“ Louvain, though the said Serjeant Major, the
“ King of the Heralds; and several others had as-
“ sured me that the said Cardinal Infant was not
“ to set out till Monday the 2^{ist}. Finding these
“ delays, I pressed the said Serjeant Major to tell
“ me, whether I might hope to be heard by the
“ said Cardinal Infant, and having assured me of
“ it, he returned for the third time to the said
“ Prince's palace, to know the precise hour. In
“ the mean while two other Heralds came to the
“ house where I was, one of them bearing the
“ title of Hainaut, and the other Gueldres, and
“ entered into discourse with me about the colour
“ of my Coat of Arms, and the method I should
“ observe in talking to the Prince; I replied that
“ I only wanted them to dispatch me quickly,
“ and to suspend their curiosity. At six o'clock
“ in the evening, the Serjeant Major returned
“ with a man sent to know if I had any letter or
“ other paper to transmit to their Prince: I said
“ I had answered this question in the morning;
“ they continued telling me that if I had a war-
“ ranted commission to speak to the said Prince,
“ I

“ I was to shew it ; I replied that my commission
“ consisted in what I was to say, and that I
“ would not shew it, but by speaking to the said
“ Prince ; then they asked me if I had an ena-
“ mel marked with my office, and if I had ob-
“ served the proper formalities in entering into
“ the Low Countries ; to all this I answered,
“ that since I was prevented from speaking to the
“ Cardinal Infant by so many obstacles, I should
“ make known the effect of my power ; then,
“ taking out of my pocket the declaration which
“ I was to have made to the said Cardinal In-
“ fant, and wanting to give it to the said Envoy,
“ he said he had no authority to take any thing,
“ and retired ; the Serjeant Major on his part
“ retired also ; I thereupon went out with the
“ three abovementioned Heralds, and having
“ mounted my horse, I told them to receive the
“ said declaration ; they said they could not,
“ desiring me to wait some little time, and that
“ those gentlemen would return ; but seven
“ o’clock having struck without their returning,
“ I told the Herald, holding the said paper in
“ my hand, that it was the declaration that I was
“ to have made from the King my master to the
“ Cardinal Infant, and threw the said declara-
“ tion at their feet, before the door of the said
“ Serjeant Major, in the square du Sablon ;
“ where-

“ whereupon the said Heralds cried out to the
 “ people who were there assembled, not to touch
 “ the paper.” The contents of it were, *The
 Herald at Arms of France, by the title of Alençon,*
undersigned, certifies to all those whom it may con-
cern, that he is come into the Low Countries from
the King his Master, his only Sovereign Lord, to
meet the Cardinal Infant of Spain, and to tell him
that since he would not restore liberty to the Arch-
bishop of Treves, Elector of the Empire, who had
put himself under his Majesty's protection, when
he could not obtain any from the Emperor, or any
other Prince; and that since in contempt of the
dignity of the Empire, and in opposition to the Law
of Nations, he detains a Sovereign Prince pri-
soner, who had committed no hostilities against
him, his Majesty declares to him that he is resolved
to have satisfaction by arms for this offence, which
interests all the Princes of Christendom.

“ Immediately after having thrown down
 “ the said declaration, I made my way through
 “ the crowd of people across the said square of
 “ Sablon, and came out of the gate de Hau to
 “ retire into France. Being arrived about nine
 “ in the morning, the 21st of the present month
 “ and year, upon the frontiers of the Low Coun-
 “ tries, at a village called Rouilli, having a post
 “ in my hand, I planted it upon the high road
 “ from

" from Avesnes to la Chapelle towards Estreule-
 " Cauchi, another village of the Low Coun-
 " tries; upon which post I affixed a copy of the
 " said declaration, and having met a Peasant
 " coming from church, I told him that I had
 " affixed the said manifesto from the King my
 " Master, against the Cardinal Infant of Spain,
 " and that he was to acquaint the Mayor or some
 " other Magistrate of the place therewith; and
 " the said Peasant having called the said Mayor,
 " and shewn him to me, I certified the same to
 " the said Mayor, and saw him with other per-
 " sons, make towards the said post: the afore-
 " said Elissavide, trumpeter in ordinary to the
 " King, having sounded the usual chamades,
 " The truth whereof we certify the day and
 " year aforesaid."

A Prince took off his coat, and gave it to the
 Herald who brought him an agreeable piece of
 news. *The Queen, says John Chartier, being
 brought to bed of a son on February the 4th 1435,
 the King (Charles VII.) dispatched the Herald
 named Constance, to carry the news to the Duke
 of Burgundy; at which the Duke appeared ex-
 tremely joyful, and gave the Herald 100 riders of
 gold, and an embroidered robe which he then had
 on.*

It

It should seem, that the period of great crimes is also the period of distinguished virtues. During the civil wars in the reign of *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* every instant we discover acts of the most striking magnanimity.

D'Aubigné * one of the chiefs of the Huguenot party, waged war in Saintonge; he fell into an ambuscade, and was taken prisoner; he obtained from *St. Luc*, who commanded the catholic troops in that Province, to go and pass some days at Rochelle upon his parole. He was scarce gone before *St. Luc* received orders to send him to Bourdeaux, well secured and guarded; he did not doubt but *Catharine de Médicis* and the Duke *d'Epemon*, wanted to sacrifice him to their revenge; he had deeply offended them by some satires which were as poignant as they were true. *St. Luc*, who had given him secret intelligence not to return, was very much astonished and sorry to see him come back: Sir, says *D'Aubigné*, I am come to deliver myself up to you agreeable to the parole which I gave you, and because I should otherwise have exposed you to a suspicious and cruel court; I know my death has been resolved upon there; my enemies shall satisfy their hatred, and I shall have discharged what I owe

* *Memoirs of Madam de Maintenon.*

to honour and gratitude. Was this exceeded by the so much boasted action of *Regulus*? *Guittaut* the King's Lieutenant in the islands of Rhé and Oleron, was taken by the Rochellers; they threatened to throw him into the Sea, if *D'Aubigné* was removed to Bordeaux: by this means *St. Luc* had a pretence for keeping him and saving his life.

In 1590 the League Party asked some troops of the King of Spain. Upon the news of their being disembarked, *Barri de S. Aunez*, *Henry* the IVth's Governor at Leucate, set out to communicate a scheme to the Duke *de Montmorenci*, commander in that Province; he was taken in his way by some of the troops of the League, who were also upon their march with the Spaniards towards Leucate; persuaded that having the Governor in their hands, the gates of that place would be immediately opened to them, or at best that it would not hold out long; but *Constantia de Cezelli* * his wife, after having convened the Garrison, put herself so resolutely at their head, pike in hand, that she inspired the weakest with courage; the besiegers were repulsed wherever they presented themselves. Shame and their great loss had rendered them desperate;

* She was of an ancient and wealthy family of Montpellier.

they

they therefore sent a message to that courageous woman, to acquaint her that if she continued to defend herself, they would hang her husband. I have riches in abundance, replied she with tears in her eyes; I have offered them, and I do still offer them for his ransom; but I would not ignominiously purchase a life which he would reproach me with, and which he would be ashamed to enjoy; I will not dishonour him by treason towards my Country and King. The besiegers having attempted a fresh attack, without succeeding better than in the former, put *Barri* to death, and raised the Siege. The Garrison wanted to make reprisals upon the Lord of *Loupian*, who was of the League, and who had been taken prisoner: our Heroine opposed it. *Henry IV.* sent her the brevet of Governess of *Leucate*, with the reversion for her Son.

Margaret de Valois made war against *Henry III.* her Brother, and the king of Navarre, her Husband. She had encamped her small army before *Villeneuve d'Agenois*: She ordered thirty or forty Soldiers to conduct *Charles de Cicutat* to the foot of the walls, and to put him to death, if his Son, who commanded the place refused to open the gates. *Cicutat*, after this shameful summons had been given his Son, cried out to him, *Think of the fidelity and duty of a Frenchman, and that*

if I were capable of bidding you surrender, it would be no longer your Father who spoke to you, but a traitor, a coward, an enemy to your honour and to the King. The Guards had already their arms uplifted, and even going to smite, when young Cicuttat made then a signal; the gate was opened, he came out with three or four men, feigning to enter into a conference, but immediately taking sword in hand, he fell with such impetuosity upon those who held their drawn swords over his father, and was so expeditiously seconded by several soldiers of the Garrison, that he was delivered.

The crimes of *Catharine de Medicis* are usually attributed to her lust of governing, and to the embarrassments she found herself in between the Guises, and the Chiefs of the Calvinist party. For my part, after having read, examined, and discussed all that has been written for and against her, I am of opinion, that formed to create disturbances and to destroy, they were the propensity of her soul, which like the seed of an infectious creature becomes a scourge; that authority without perplexities would not have flattered her vanity; that she was pleased only in the midst of storms, and that she would have sown discord and division in the most tranquil and submissive Court. Nothing unveils better the vileness of her character

character than the education she gave her children; she was desirous that cockfighting and the battling of dogs, and other animals, should be amongst their usual recreations: if there was any remarkable execution at the Greve, she carried them thither; and to render them as lascivious as blood-thirsty, she gave them from time to time little regales, when her Maids of honour with their hair flowing, and crowned with flowers, waited at table half-naked. *Charles IX.* naturally very impetuous, had in other respects great qualities,—education entirely perverted them. *Papire Masson* relates that one of this Prince's greatest pleasures was to shew his dexterity by striking off at one blow, the heads of Asses and Hogs that he met in his way as he was going to the Chace; and that one day *Lansac*, one of his favourites, having found him sword in hand against his Mule, gravely asked him, *What quarrel then has arisen between his most Christian Majesty and my Mule?**

The massacre of the Huguenots was as shocking in several Cities of the Kingdom as it had been at Paris. Above 2000 were destroyed at Lyons. The Executioner of that City, whom

* *Carolo irruenti in Mulum Lansaci, inter aulicos gratio si, quod tibi dissidium, inquit, cum mulo meo intercessit, Rex Christianissime?*

the Governor ordered to go and dispatch some who were in the prisons, answered him, *that he worked only in a judicial way.* Here is the vilest of Men by his condition, who has more honour than a Queen and her Council.

Catharine de Medicis, the Guises, the Chancellor de Birague, and the Gondis, were foreigners who ruled the Kingdom. They planned and directed the plot of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Methinks our Nation should be less reproached with the infamy arising from thence, than the Romans with that of the Proscriptions: *Sylla* and *Augustus* were Romans.

Our religious wars brought great quantities of gold and silver into Trade: the Catholics, like the Calvinists, converted the church plate into specie. The Council of the League to support the Siege of Paris against *Henry IV.* ordered, with the advice and consent of the Bishop and Legate, that all Ecclesiastics should carry their church plate to the Mint, excepting only the sacred Vessels absolutely necessary for Divine Service.

Extract from the Registers of the Mint

May 29th 1590, Received from the Treasurer *Roland*, and the Ecclesiastics of the Abbey of *St.*

St. Denis *, a golden Crucifix weighing nineteen Marks four Ounces five Grains, which was melted.

Moreover, June 16th 1590, Received of the same Ecclesiastics, a golden Crown, weighing ten Marks ten Ounces all but two Grains, which was melted.

Bad Women are almost always weak and superstitious. *Catharine de Medicis* did not only believe in judicial Astrology, but even in Magic; she wore upon her Stomach a Skin of Vellum, others say the Skin of a Child whose Throat had been cut, inscribed with Figures, Letters, and Characters of different colours: She was persuaded that this Skin had the Virtue to secure her from any attack that might be made upon her Person. She caused the column of the Hotel de Soissons to be erected, in the shaft of which there is a winding Staircase to go up to the armillary Sphere, which is atop, where she went to consult the Stars with her Astrologers. This Column has 18 Gutters, and there are to be seen in some Places, Trophies, C's and H's intersecting each other, broken Looking-Glasses, and Love-Knots rent; allegorical Figures signifying the Widow-

* They had carried the Treasure of this Abbey to Paris, and had deposited it in the Church of *St. Croix de la Bretonnerie*.

hood of this Princess, and that she devoted herself entirely to grief for the loss she had sustained. If some Historians are to be credited, she did not let herself be wanting in consolatory Friends ; among others they mention *Francis de Vendome, Vidame de Chartres*, and *Troilus de Mesgouez*, a Gentleman of Brittany. I believe such a Woman might have constitutional irruptions, but that she was neither capable, nor certainly, worthy of being sensible to Love.

The Marchioness *d'Etrees*, mother to the fair Gabriel, was killed in an insurrection at Issoire in Auvergne ; probably her Body remained indecently exposed in the Street, because a fashion had been introduced and followed for some time amongst the Ladies of high rank ; they did not wear top knots of different colours only upon their Heads.

By an edict given at *Roussillon-Chateau* in Dauphiny, in 1564, *Charles IX.* fixed the beginning of the Year 1565 to the first of January, whereas before that time the Year did not begin till Easter. It appears to me that it ought to commence on the 21st of December, or rather the 21st of March.

The imagination of *Henry III.* indulged itself in melancholy ideas. During his mourning for the Princess of *Condé*, whom he had passionately

ately loved, he caused little death's heads to be painted upon the points of his Cloaths, and upon his Shoe Ribbons: at the death of *Catharine de Medicis* he ordered all the Tapestry in the Apartments of the Castle of Blois where he then resided to be taken down, and had it painted black sprinkled with Tears. He had conceived a very uncommon project: this was to cut six Walks in the Wood of Boulogne, which should terminate in the same center; he would here have erected a magnificent Monument, wherein to deposit his own Heart, and those of the Kings his Successors. Every Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, was to have erected a marble Tomb for himself with his Statue; and these Tombs along the Walks, were to be separated one from the other by a little space, planted with Yew-trees cut in different Shapes: *In a hundred Years*, said he, *this will be a very amusing Walk; there will be at least four hundred Tombs in this Wood.*

Lewis of Anjou-Tarente, of the House * of France, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, by his marriage with *Jane I.* Queen of Naples, his Cousin, instituted an Order of the Holy Ghost in that

† He descended from *Charles Count of Anjou*, brother to *St. Lewis*.

City, in 1352. Most of our Historians say, that by reason of the troubles, wherewith his reign was agitated after the Year 1354, this Order of the Holy Ghost could not support itself; and perhaps we should have been ignorant of its existence, if by accident the original title of its institution had not fallen into the hands of a noble Venetian, who presented it to *Henry III.* when he passed through Venice, on his return to Poland; that this Prince wanting to avail himself of the hint, kept it very secret, and after having got *Chiverni*, who was afterwards Chancellor of France, to extract what he wanted from it for his new Order, he ordered it to be burnt; that *Chiverni* preserved this scarce and curious Piece, partly on account of the beautiful Vellum miniatures with which it was ornamented; that after his death it was placed in the Library of his Son the Bishop of Chartres, and from this Library it passed into that of the President de Maisons. If these Historians had read the Statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost of Naples, instituted, as I have just said, in 1352, they would have found that they are the same as those of the Order of the Star instituted at Paris, a year before, by King *John* in 1531; that these being very well known, *Henry III.* could not think of taking

taking a hint from them, and that consequently all they related upon that head was false.

The Order of *St. Michael*, instituted by *Lewis XI.* in 1469, maintained itself with splendour under the reigns of *Charles VIII.* *Lewis XII.* *Francis I.* and *Henry II.* but the great number of Persons destitute of Merit and Birth, who were invested with it, in the reigns of *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* debased it and brought it into contempt. *Henry III.* without abolishing it, resolved to establish one upon its Foundation *, which should be a mark of the highest distinction; he instituted it accordingly under the name and in honour of the Holy Ghost, because on Whitsunday 1573, he had been elected King of Poland, and on the same Day 1574 he had succeeded to the Crown of France. He flattered himself that amidst the troubles which the League fomented against him, he would keep the Nobility of his Kingdom † to their Duty, and attach them to him; not only by the hopes of entering into his new Order, and the particular Oath which every Knight would make upon his admission, but still more

* One must be admitted a Knight of *St. Michael*, before receiving the Order of the Holy Ghost.

† It was in the same Circumstances, and with the same View, that King *John* and *Lewis XI.* instituted their Orders.

by motives of Interest. He asked the Pope's approbation to put a hundred Abbeyes of France *in commendam*, and to have the power of conferring them upon his new Knights, though married; the Pope would not consent to it, and the Clergy did not fail opposing it, being moreover instigated thereto by the Chiefs of the League. Nevertheless the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost have always continued to take the title of *Commandeurs* agreeable to their institution; and each of them enjoys, till they obtain *Commanderies*, an annual gratification of a thousand Crowns, upon the Revenue of the Golden Mark.

When the King names any one to be simply Knight of *St. Michael*, he appoints a Knight Commander of his § Orders to receive him, that is to say, to administer the Oaths to him, and give him the embrace and collar; but the King himself receives, in some Church after Mass, those whom he has chosen to be Knights of the Holy Ghost. He begins the Evening preceding, or the same Morning before Mass, to receive them in his Closet, as Knights of *St. Michael*.

§ The Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost are stiled Knights of the King's Order, because they are Knights of the Order of *St. Michael* and that of the Holy Ghost.

After

After the new Knight has taken the Oath, he who receives him, draws his Sword, and gives him a stroke with the flat side *upon the nape of his Neck*; he afterwards embraces him as a sign of Brotherhood. Formerly this stroke was sometimes given with the palm of the Hand. In the Romance of William with the short Nose, in describing the Ceremonies of his reception, when he was admitted a Knight by Charlemain, it is said, *Charlemain kissed his Mouth and Chin, and with his right Hand struck him on the hinder part of the neck.*

What does this blow signify? Some say, *It is to make the new Knight remember the Oath he has taken, and all the troubles which he is to prepare himself for, and which he is to support with patience, if he would worthily fill his new Station.* Others say, *It is to advertise him that this affront is the last he is to suffer.* The information would not be very polite.—I shall risk some Notions that have struck me upon the origin of this ancient Custom.

None was looked upon as a Soldier till he had been created a Knight. In a register of the Chamber of Accounts intitled *Jornale Thesauri*, it may be seen, that Soldier and Knight signified the same thing; it is there said, *Philippus, filius*

Ludovici, factus est miles in Pentecoste, anno 1267. Philippus Pulcher factus est miles, anno 1284. Was not a blow given to him who was made a Knight, that is to say a Soldier, the same thing as to intimate to him the submission which every Soldier owes his Commander ?

As soon as a person was created a Knight, however young he might be, he was emancipated. *He might make use of Arms and enjoy his Rights ; he became a real * Man, a Member of the State, whereas before he was only a Member of his own Family.* Is not the custom of giving a blow to the person who was created a Knight, and who consequently was emancipated, derived from the Ceremony practised amongst the Romans when a Bondsman was set at Liberty ? The Pretor struck him with a Wand upon the Neck, saying, *I declare you free after the manner of the Romans.*

Amongst the Romans, a person could not make use of Arms, and was no Soldier, till he had taken the Military Oath. Every Soldier in taking it, laid his naked Sword upon his Neck, to testify his entire devotion to the Emperor : *Gladiis †*

* *Militaribus cum in virum perfectum dedicavit sacramentis.*
Lambertus Ardensis.

† We find in Calepin and all the Glossaries, that *cervix* signifies the nape of the Neck.

cervicibus suis admotis, solemniter juravere. Amm. Marcellin. L. 21.

Dubbing, according to some is embracing, and according to others is the Blow that is given upon the Neck of the new Knight, *adcolata*. Be this as it may, it is upon the Neck that the Blow is to be given, and not upon the Shoulder as is now practised.

Tacitus says *, *that every Prince amongst the Germans, has several Warriors about him, who are particularly and indissolubly attached to him. The most sacred of their engagements, adds he, is to cover and defend him upon all occasions, to have no other glory than his, and to attribute to him all the Merit, and all the Honour of their Exploits, were he killed in Battle; they would be looked upon with contempt if they survived § him.* This seems to me to be the origin of the Orders of Knighthood, and of the particular Oath whereby every Knight in some measure renounces himself, that he may be entirely devoted to the person of this Prince.

* De Moribus Germ. c. 13 & 14.

§ Amongst the Cimbri and the Cimmerians, there were also Warriors who made an Oath to the King not to survive him, whether he died of Sickness, or was killed in Battle; the King on his side was obliged to cut off a little bit of his Ear, when any one of these Warriors was killed.

The dress of a Novice, or one who has been named to be received a Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost, consists of a doublet and truss of Silver * stuff, silk Stockings, and white Shoes; the Sword sheath is of the same colour; the guard and pummel are Silver; he has round his Neck a band of English point, and upon his Shoulder a cloak made of shorn Velvet; his Cap, which he wears instead of a Hat, is black, ornamented with a plume of white Feathers and a Heron's Mass; he prostrates himself at the King's feet, his Majesty being seated upon a Throne near the Altar, and after he has taken and signed the Oath, his cloak is taken off, and the King gives him the great mantle and collar of the Order. This great mantle, which is turned up on the left side, and open on the right, is made of a yellow brown Velvet §, lined with strong Satin; it is decorated with flames or *tongues of Fire*, embroidered with Gold, and is likewise all around embroidered with Gold to the width of ten inches; the short mantle over this is embroidered in the same manner, and falls over the

* This is to recall to mind the ancient customs. Neither a Prince nor his Wife could wear any thing but Silver upon their Cloaths, till such time as he was knighted.

§ It was at first black.

shoulders

shoulders and stomach ; it is made of light green Mohair and Silver. The embroidery of the great and little mantles, and the links of the great collar form the Greek letters Δ, Φ and Δ, with *H*'s and *M*'s. The Leaguers, who incessantly endeavoured to decry all the Actions of *Henry III.* gave out amongst the People, that notions of gallantry rather than devotion, had induced this Prince to invent this new Order : that the orange colour, the light green, the white and the blue, were his Mistress's colours ; that the *H*'s and *M*'s * interlaced signified his name and that of his Mistress ; that the Φ and Δ meant assurances of his fidelity, and the Flower de luce in the midst of Flames the ardour of his love. *Henry IV.* to remove these evil interpretations †, had, in 1597,

* *Henry and Margaret his Sister.*

† What most Historians relate in regard to the Golden Fleece is still more ridiculous and indecent. *It is said* (according to *Favin* and *la Colombiere*) that *Philip the Good*, Duke of Burgundy, coming one morning into the apartment of a Lady whom he loved, found upon her toilet a little tuft of fine curled Hair ; that the Lady by her bashfulness and colouring proved she was much displeased by the discovery, and more so as some Courtiers who were present fell a laughing ; that the Duke appeased her by his caresses, and promised to institute an Order which should be distinguished by the title of the Golden Fleece, in which those who had made a joke of this fine white Hair, should not have the honour of being admitted.

all

all these cyphers and monograms removed; so that the links of the grand collar and the embroidery of the great and little mantles no longer form any thing but trophies and golden crowns, with *H's* in Silver.

In 1584, the King *, his chancellor, the courtiers and ministers, were seen walking two of a breast through the streets of Paris, covered from head to foot with a large sackcloth, tied round with a thick cord, and each of them holding a scourge in his hand, wherewith to flagellate his shoulders. In 1509, Monks of all sorts in the dress of their different orders, with a Helmet upon their Head, a Sword by their Side, and a Fusée upon their Shoulder, were seen walking four and four commanded by a Bishop with a Halbert in his Hand.

Henry III. affords a proof that the longest supineness in a soft effeminate life, does not stifle courage in the Soul of a Frenchman. We read in the Memoirs of Nevers §, that this Prince, some Months before his death, at the furious attack of the Fauxbourg of Tours by the Duke of Mentz, *advanced as far as the Gabions, which formed part of the barricade; and that having thrown down one of these Gabions with his foot,*

* *Henry III.*

§ Vol. II. p. 590.

he placed himself before it, giving his orders with the greatest coolness imaginable, in the midst of a shower of Fusée shot : that the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. returning with him, began to praise him, and said to him, I am no longer astonished after what I have seen, that our people lost the battles of *Jarnac* * and *Moncontour* ; that Henry III. replied, we must every where do what we are obliged to do ; Kings are not more exposed than other Men, and balls do not more particularly single them out than a private Soldier.

Stephen Pasquier makes a remark || on the subject of Henry III. He says, that all the Princes of the House of France, who have born the title of Counts or Dukes of Anjou, have become Kings, and in Kingdoms where there was very little reason to expect they would ever reign. In fact *Charles*, brother to *St. Lewis*, chief of the first branch of Anjou, and *Lewis* brother to *Charles V.* chief of the second, were one and the other called by singular events to the crowns of Naples and Sicily. *Charles Robert* d'Anjou, vulgarly called *Charobert*, became King of Hungary, and joined Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, and

* Henry III. being then only Duke of Anjou, gained those two battles against the Huguenots.

|| Vol. II. l. 5. p. 137.

Bosnia, to that kingdom. *Henry III.* who was the first, after the extinction of these two branches of Anjou, that bore the title of Duke of Anjou, was king of Poland. Had Pasquier lived in our days he would have seen another branch of Anjou upon the throne of Spain and the two Sicilies.

During the siege of Paris, in 1690, after the inhabitants had eaten the straw of their beds, old hides, and the most unclean animals, they took up the bones of the dead from the church yards, ground them, and endeavoured to eat them. Upwards of ten thousand persons had already died of Famine, or of those execrable aliments, when a search was ordered to be made in the religious houses: amongst the Carmelites, the Jacobins, the Jesuites, the Augustins, the begging Friars of St. Bernard, the Cordeliers, the Capuchins, in a word at every Convent, flower, biscuit, salt meat, and other provisions were found in sufficient quantities, to support them eight months. I can conceive that we may exhort others to endure hardships of which we ourselves participate; but that men, after having procured to themselves secret plenty by begging and intrigue, should preach patience to a people as the command of God, and daily impose upon them by false intelligence and vain hopes.

hopes of succour; that the same men, meeting at every step with infants expiring on the breasts of their famished and languishing mothers, should be insensible to such a spectacle, and continue the ministers of a lingering and cruel death which every day swallows up and devours the unhappy victims of their predications --- this is the highest pitch of the most atrocious barbarity!

The Duke de Nemours who was appointed by the League Governor of Paris, going to visit some posts towards St. Michael's gate * met a man who said to him in a pannic, *Sir, don't go into that street; I am just come from thence; it is full of serpents; I saw a woman there half dead, whose neck and hands were all twined round with adders.* The Duke de Nemours sent forward some of his people, who hastily returned, and confirmed the account this man had given. Historians say, that the excessive heat of the dog days, and the noxious effluvia of so many bodies infected by bad nourishment, engendered this prodigious number of serpents which appeared in different parts of the City towards the end of the siege: I question whether this will appear a physical cause to naturalists.

Upon All Saints day 1604, the curate of St. Paul's having repaired to some Churches belonging

* At the top of Rue de la Harpe.

ing to the Ecclesiastics of his parish, where he found the cloths laid for the Communion, took them off, and with a very severe reprimand, exhorted the congregation not to communicate in any other than the parish church; he held forth very strenuously against the Confraternities, and threatened to excommunicate those who united with them. Several curates did the same thing, and uttered the same threats in their parishes. *The Monks (says Mezeray) have an advantage over the ordinary priests; it is the constant union of the whole community to work with one spirit and never to quit the object proposed. The churches of the Convents, adds he, are full, while the parish churches are almost deserted, the sheep quitting their natural pastors, and the solid meat of their nurse, to run after these spiritual dainties. The late Duke of Burgundy had the highest esteem for the curates of Paris; he thought it necessary to give them the most gracious reception at court, and to grant them, as far as was possible, what little favours they asked for Families, in order to encrease that attention and confidence, which they obtain by the decency of their manners, their charity, and benevolence.*

I do not know men that do more honour to human-

kind

kind than the Paris curates, said Doctor Burnet upon his return to London.

Théodos's & Justinian. Cod. Book. 10. Tit. 31:

Great numbers of people through an indolent and lazy disposition, quit public employments, and associate, under pretence of Religion, with Monastical Communities; after having maturely deliberated upon this abuse, it is our pleasure that those persons be drawn from their retreats, and that they be brought back to their functions and employments in the state.

The Council of Orleans in 511, under Clovis. C. 6.

No person can embrace an ecclesiastical life, without leave from the King or the Judge.

Young Women shall not take the veil before the age of twenty five years.

The Council of Africa C 16. The Council of Tours C. 28; The Capitularies of Charlemain C. 107:

The council of Lateran, in 1216, forbid the invention and establishment of new religious Orders. If there were twenty before that prohibition, since that time 150 have been devised and established.

At the council of Trent, the Generals of the Orders represented, that if it was not allowed to
take

take the last Monastic vows at 16 years of age, and if those vows were deferred till the age of 25, there would be very few Monks and Nuns. I apprehend every one will allow that such representations were very inhuman; for was it not saying, provided we have a great number of Religious, what signifies it to us, that successively from age to age, fifteen or sixteen thousand persons, in Catholic Countries, expose themselves to spend their days in repentance, bitterness of soul, despair, and horror, for being in a situation which they too lightly and precipitately entered into?

The States General continued at Orleans, in the Reign of Charles IX. in 1560. Collection of Remonstrances. Art. 37.

Demands of the States. It is forbidden to receive any Monastic persons to make profession, before they have attained the 30th year of their age, and women the 25th at least.

The King's answer. Ordered that it shall be fixed to 25 years for Males, and 18 for Females.

This ordonnance was abolished at the States of Blois in 1588, and it was there enacted that a person might be bound by the last Monastic vows, if he had attained the age of 16 years compleat. No one is ignorant that the chiefs of
the

the League, those Tyrants of their Country and King, governed the States of Blois, and that they had, and ought to have great respect for the Monks, who were almost to a man Leaguers.

Priests are of divine institution, Monks are not so ; increase the number of Priests ; forbid all orders male and female for the future, to receive novices : appropriate part of their Estates to the use of the City and Country parishes ; preserve the Abbey revenues to confer them on the younger sons of the Nobility ; preserve also the rich Abbeyes of Nuns : but let them be henceforward upon the plan of the chapter of Canonesses, that is to say, let them be open for young women of good families, who are only to take the vow of obedience, and who may remain there all their lives, or quit the place, if they find an agreeable match : the daughters of reputable tradesmen shall form communities of Hospitalors, with the same liberty as Canonesses, to return to their relations, or to marry ; they should take care of poor sick persons, or attend to the education of children.

The common people of Rome complained to Pope *Pius IV.* of a tax which he had laid upon corn, and which could not exceed three sols per head annually : *You have more reason to complain,* said he, *of Paul IV. my predecessor, who has made*
you

you lose a day's work of five sols, by instituting a new festival, the Chair of St. Peter.

Every one must agree, if there were no more than the four great Festivals and the Sundays observed in the year, fewer disorders would happen amongst the people, and their Devotion would become more fervent.

There are eighteen Millions of Inhabitants in France : Suppose there are six Millions of Labourers, Workmen, Artisans, &c. and fix each one's days work to only ten sols ; this amounts to three Millions of Livres : suppress ten festivals, and thereby thirty Millions are gained.

It is not above a hundred years, since it was the custom to keep one's friend to lie all night with one, or to go home and sleep with him ; and what is extraordinary, the purity of the marriage-bed was not affected by the approach of a stranger ; the Wife lay still, as if by the side of her Husband.

Lewis XIII. was fond of war ; he understood it, and took pleasure in the labours and dangers of a Siege : he was intrepid in an intrenchment, but with much courage in his heart, he had none in his mind : the details of government scared his imagination, and terrified his conscience : no one was more wavering and irresolute in the Cabinet and Council,

He

He was ravished at the sight of a fine woman : he loved to be with her, to look at her, and to hear her ; *But his amours, says a writer of that time, were purely spiritual, betwixt soul and soul, and his enjoyments were entirely maiden.* He went frequently to lie with the Constable of Luynes, and though in love with the Constable's wife, he slept with great tranquillity upon the same bolster with her without ideas or desires.

Charles d'Albert, Duke of Luynes, enjoyed to his death the first civil and military dignity ; he was Constable and keeper of the Seals.

Those who suffered decapitation for high treason were blindfolded : this was so much more ignominy added to their punishment. The Marshal de Biron was blindfolded *. We read in an account of the death of the Duke de Montmorenci, published in 1633, that he said to the Executioner, *Blindfold me, and perform thine office quickly ;* this reply was made him, *that if he had a mind he needed not be blindfolded, and that the King had given orders accordingly ;* to which he answered, *that he could not die shamefully enough.* Those who lost their heads for other crimes than treason were at liberty to be blindfolded or not.

* Bouteville and Deschappelles, who were condemned

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demned

* Pierre Mathieu, L. 5.

demned for duelling, were asked, if they chose to be blindfolded, and they replied no.

Theophrastus Renaudot, a physician of Paris, picked up news from all quarters to amuse his Patients; he presently became more in request than any of his brethren; but as a whole City is not ill, or at least don't imagine itself to be so, he begun to reflect at the end of some years, that he might gain a more considerable income, by giving a paper every week, containing the news of different Countries. A permission was necessary; he obtained it with an exclusive privilege, in 1632. Such papers had been in use for a considerable time at Venice, and were called *Gazettes*, because a small piece of money, called *Gazetta*, was paid for the reading of them: This is the origin of our Gazette and its name.

When the seat of Parliament was fixed, the one half of it was composed of Bishops; *Philip the Long*, by an ordinance in the year 1319, excluded them, *making it a point of conscience*, as he said, *to prevent their labouring in any other than a spiritual vocation*. They at present belong to the French Academy.

Our language is become the universal one, and Paris seems to be the capital of Nations. To whom are we indebted for this glory, and for those master-pieces of eloquence, poetry, painting,

painting, sculpture, and architecture, which have immortalized the reign of *Lewis XIV*? To *Corneille* and *Moliere*. All the arts go hand in hand; the beginning of perfection in one, forms a taste for the rest. Those two great geniuses have discovered sources, which without either expence or risk, bring more gold into France, than ever the merciless destroyers of Mexico and Peru carried into Spain. In three or four thousand years the names of the other Nations who inhabit Europe will scarce be known, whereas our Language will be the learned Language, and will be taught to children: every one will pride himself in being acquainted with our History, and in enumerating the celebrated names and actions of our Kings and Heroes; the softness, the politeness of our manners will be admired by posterity, whilst they will be struck with the courage and pride wherewith such a gay frivolous people, issued from their lethargic pleasures, and flew to glory as soon as they were attacked.

I search every where in Paris for the statues of *Corneille* and *Moliere*—Where are they? Where are their Mausoleums?

A writer, who does not hold France in any great veneration, pretends that *Corneille* is not so much admired there as in the rest of Europe, and that *Racine* in the rest of Europe has not so

great a reputation as in France. I should believe our nation to be very near its decline, if men of forty years of age did not look upon *Corneille* as the greatest genius that ever existed. What rapidity in his flights ! What sublimity in his ideas ! What boldness of sentiment ! What nobleness in his portraits ! What pomp, what majesty in his pictures ! What depth in politics ! What truth, what strength in his reasonings ! The action in his pieces is always striking and interesting : in most of those of *Racine*, the action is trifling, and set in motion by little springs, and the bickerings of lovers. *Corneille* was well acquainted with all the human heart ; it should seem that *Racine* was only acquainted with its weaknesses. The plots and characters of *Corneille's* pieces do not in the least resemble one another : the plots and characters of *Racine's* pieces are almost all similar. Nobody was ever such a master of Dialogue, as *Corneille* : it is true his style appears sometimes too familiar, and even groveling ; but is our delicacy upon that head rational ? Besides *Aristotle*, *Father Bossu*, and all those who have written upon the Theatre, agree that versification is the least and last part of a dramatic work : it is the invention of the *fable*, the disposition of the picture, the strength and truth of the characters, which evince genius.

In

In reading *Corneille*, we feel that his own soul was the source of his elevated genius.

La Bruyere asserts that *Corneille* paints men as they should be, and that *Racine* paints them such as they are: it would be easy to demonstrate, that a more erroneous judgment was never pronounced.

A play is going to be represented; a person asks, whether it is in verse or prose; he is answered, in prose; immediately the piece, in his imagination, sinks in its value. The celebrated *Nericaut Destouches* thought very differently, and his decision ought to have so much the more weight, as almost all his pieces are in verse, and he had therefore no interest in listing under the banner of prose: *I know* (says he in a letter to a young author) *it is not so easy to secure the success of a piece wrote in prose as of one in verse, because versification of itself gives a relief to things the most ordinary, and frequently the most insipid.* In fact, don't change a single word, only dissolve the metre, and reduce to prose any scene that has appeared to you very brilliant in verse, you will be astonished at the illusion that the measure and rhyme have occasioned, and at the turn of thought, maxim, and moral, which they communicate, as *Destouches* expresses it, to ideas often hackneyed and trivial. We are much

obliged to an author, you will say, for surmounting the difficulty which there is in composing a piece in verse; but, it may be answered, that an author who has habituated himself from his youth to make verses, often versifies with greater ease, than he could write prose. In a word, it is not to be doubted that to compensate the disadvantages of prose, it is necessary to give it a certain turn, to shorten it, to render it lively and precise, and to ornament it with more strokes than would be necessary to recommend the same work, had it been written in verse.

I have seen, says C. Julius Vindex, in a speech he made to the Gauls to rouse them against Nero, *I have seen that infamous Man in an actor's dress, singing verses upon the stage, playing the part of a slave, and of a courtesan, loaded with fetters, big-bellied, and brought to bed.* It seems from this passage of Suetonius, and several others of Lucian, that there were no Women upon the Roman Stage, and that Men performed their part; nevertheless Pliny mentions one *Luceja* [Lib. 7. cap. 48] who still trod the Stage, when she was an hundred years old.

The famous Roscius had a great cast in his eye, *Erat perversissimis oculis*, says Cicero in his book of the Orator.

Raimond

Raimond Poisson, an actor belonging to the Hotel of Burgundy, was excellent as to his natural acting, but he stammered, and had no calves to his legs: he took it into his head to wear buskins: his son and grandson inherited his natural acting, his stammering and his buskins.

In the ballet of the Triumph of Love, exhibited in 1681, female dancers were introduced for the first time upon the Opera-Stage: before that period, two, four, six, or eight Men-dancers were dressed in Womens cloaths.

Father Menetrier the Jesuit, in his book upon ancient and modern ballets, relates, that to solemnize the beatification of *St. Ignatius*, a very fine ballet was given, representing the *City of Troy*, and the *Trojan Horse set in motion by secret springs*. What connexion had this Horse, and the misfortunes which were occasioned by his being brought into Troy with the institution of the Jesuits, and their establishment in the Kingdom?

Will it be credited, that it was proposed as a problem in an Academy, *Whether the establishment of arts and sciences has contributed to the refinement of manners?* Will it be credited, that the same Academy gave a premium to the author of a Discourse, wherein it is attempted to prove, that

arts and sciences have tended only to the corruption of manners? And will it be credited, that notwithstanding such a decision, the same Academy has subsisted, ever since they first held their assemblies?

Our tragedies generally conclude with sedition, death, or massacres. All our comedies terminate in marriage: Is this meant to teach us, that the great are born to destroy, and the rest of mankind to propagate their species?

It appears to me, that for these twenty or thirty years last past, most of the tragedies that are advertised as new ones, are only new editions of old ones, revised and corrected.

In a nation where the women are only handsome, a taste in the agreeable arts will never arrive at any great degree of perfection: it is the graces that inspire, guide, form, and enlighten taste.

To proscribe the fine arts, and to stick to those only that are useful, is blaming Nature, which produces flowers, roses, and jessamines, as well as fruits.

Is not *the best* sometimes contrary to what is called simply *good*? In entering our new-built churches which are so very light, is one struck with that religious awe and recollection, which the obscurity of the old ones inspired?

The ancient Castles have a certain air of nobility:

bility : those that are built now, resemble only country houses.

A wire-drawn, laboured style, intermingled with tropes and antitheses, strikes none but fools. Endeavour to write with ease, simplicity, and precision; have a manner of your own, but above all things be clear : Every author that must be read twice, in order to be understood, writes badly.

Ye little Eagles who disdainfully hover above the sphere of your pitiful countrymen, ye new Phænomena in literature, I take the liberty of considering you in your *Apogée*; and I think it is very perceptible, that the rays of your glory consist of nothing but paradoxes, and singular ideas, strokes against the female sex, and against your country, blended with a varnish of irreligion.

There is nothing so easy, and consequently nothing which is less a proof of wit, than the supporting of paradoxes and singular notions.

About fifty years ago two small works appeared under the titles of *Dialogues of the Gods*, and *Letters of Philosophy and Gallantry*. The design of the author was to weaken, confound, and perplex all the ideas, and principles of morality, which usually guide mankind. He endeavoured to prove that falsehood, avarice, indolence, and

ingratitude were no vices, and that modesty and chastity had no place amongst the virtues; and that a husband, instead of opposing the gallantries of his wife, may turn them into a source of vanity; that a son owes nothing to his parents, either for the life he received from them, or the education they gave him; and that a man is neither obliged to love, to serve, nor defend his country. Would it not be pleasant, if in fisting, searching, and commenting upon two works (I make use of the term) that are in every respect so despicable, would it not be pleasant, I say, if one should imagine that the philosophy of manners has within these few years made a great progress amongst us?

God gave you talents with a view to your being useful; he bestowed riches upon you, to furnish you with opportunities of displaying your beneficence. Methinks this ancient morality of the Gospel, is of equal estimation with the new-fangled philosophy.

A Quack at the end of the Pont-neuf, wears a ridiculous cap, in order to draw the attention of the people. Such an author disparages his country for no other reason, but that he knows a certain air of singularity and effrontery, seldom fails to strike young fools. How is this, say they to themselves? Oh! certainly this author has a
great

great deal of wit ; see how he despises us ! Let us have wit too, let us despise our fellow citizens, and praise the English.

Tacitus speaking of our ancestors (de Mor. Germ. cap. 7, 8.) relates, “ that they heard “ the shouts of their wives from the field of battle ; that they wished them above all others to “ be the witnesses and panegyrist of their actions * ; that these had sometimes prevented “ the rout of their armies, and rallied the troops “ by their exhortations and remonstrances.” I don’t mean that the French Ladies should encamp ; but they have a natural dominion over our sentiments, and they may render themselves extremely useful, by incessantly inspiring a love for our country, and treating with the greatest contempt such men as would undervalue their nation.

The duke of Burgundy, who was almost continually at war with *Lewis XI.* had laid siege to Beauvais. As soon as his Artillery had made a sufficient breach to attempt the assault, he immediately ordered it to be made : the besieged having sustained it for three hours with great gallantry, began to lose courage ; the women ran to their assistance, some armed with pikes, others with sticks pointed with iron ; Jane Hachette throws a Burgundian Captain into the ditch, just

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* *Præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum.*

as he had planted his banner upon the ramparts : all the women engage in the combat, and all expose themselves with so much intrepidity, that it should seem they imagined death paid a peculiar deference to their sex : the Burgundians are repulsed, and some days after raise the siege. In commemoration of this action, an annual procession was instituted on the 10th. of July, wherein the women still have the precedence, and walk before the men.

We are reproached, that the same Frenchman, who boasts of his ancestors and the nobility of his pedigree, marries from a principle of avarice the daughter of one of these men sprung from nothing, Leeches fattened with the people's blood. Amongst the Romans, whose grandeur of soul we are incessantly taught to admire, a man who was not rich, endeavoured to insinuate himself into the good graces of some opulent old fellow : now, the father by adoption became invested with the same rights as the natural father, and the natural father had the power of life and death over his children : A man must be possessed of an abject soul indeed, to trust the power of life and death over himself into the hands of a stranger.

“ A gentleman who demeans himself by marriage, and weds a plebeian, said *René* king of
“ Si-

“ Sicily, count of Anjou, ought to be punished
“ accordingly ; and all the lords, knights, and
“ squires should fall on him in full tournament,
“ and beat him till he says, he gives up his horse,
“ and surrenders.

The Roman victors had an iron ring put upon their finger, on the day of their triumph, to remind them of their being Men, and that the same fortune which had raised them to the summit of glory, might still plunge them into slavery. On the Pope's coronation-day, tow is burnt, and he is told that the glory of the world passes and vanishes like that flame ; *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

At the triumph of Scipio Africanus, the king and generals he had conquered, marched before his Car, chained, and with their heads shaved, to indicate their servitude. Two or three buffoons, dressed in long and magnificent robes, were also chained, and mimicked as they went along, the mein and gestures of these unhappy captives. It must be acknowledged that these Romans were very indifferent men !

The mob in France flock to the public place, where criminals are executed : Is it because they take pleasure in seeing blood spilt ? No ; but they are curious to know how these men are formed, whose crimes and sentence become the
news

news of the day, and the topic of their conversation. There are not, perhaps, four amongst all the spectators, who do not turn their heads, and whose souls are not sensibly affected, as soon as the execution begins.

The combats of Gladiators, will ever make the Romans be looked upon as a blood-thirsty and ferocious nation : but in order to know thoroughly to what a pitch their natural cruelty extended, it is only necessary to read their historians. These relate that at every wound a gladiator received, the people clapped their hands and shouted *Hoc habet*, he has got it; and when this gladiator stretched upon the stage, and covered with wounds, asked quarter, his adversary stopped and looked at the people to know whether he should grant it, and they frequently ordered him to dispatch his unhappy vanquished antagonist. It is to be observed, that gladiators were generally prisoners taken in war, and that instead of being treated with humanity, they were compelled to fight against one another. The *Arena* was sometimes covered in a single day, with twelve or fifteen hundred men killed or maimed.

No animal attacks his like, but either through rage, or when constrained by hunger : The Romans in having men put to death for their amuse-

usement, have proved that of all animals man is the most wicked.

The combats of Gladiators, it is said, were founded on political motives, and instituted for keeping up a warlike spirit amongst the Romans. But a warlike spirit and a taste for homicide are very different things: a warlike disposition is generous; honour and the love of one's country inspire it.

The Romans sometimes sought every where for Dwarfs, to make them fight, and cut one another's throats: it is the height of barbarism to endeavour to derive pleasure from cruel spectacles.

Creatures which from accident, or from being deformed in the womb, have not attained the natural size, should not be called Dwarfs. I lately saw a real Dwarf at the countess of Humitska's; he is a Pole, and the son of a gentleman, and though twenty two years of age is but 18 inches high; one would say that Nature, far from designing to disgrace him, has taken particular pleasure in perfecting a man in miniature; his head, neck, shoulders, arms, waist, legs, and feet, in a word all the parts of his body, are exactly proportioned; his eyes are lively and sparkling, and all the features of his face are graceful; he speaks with caution, and answers with much po-

politeness. I have been assured that his father and mother are both much above the middle size, that they have six children, the eldest of whom is but 34 inches high, and well made; that this I have seen is the second; that he has three younger brothers who are all above 5 feet 6 inches high: that the sixth child is a daughter about 6 years old, and not above 20 or 21 inches high, who already discovers many graces in her little person.

The ordinary height of men has always been about 5 feet four or five inches: this is a point that has been well examined, and has been demonstrated by incontestable proofs. Dwarfs and Giants are not of any particular race, they are born of fathers and mothers of the usual stature. The smallest Dwarf, when he has arrived at the age of maturity, is never less than two feet eight inches high; it is to be presumed that the tallest Giant, is never above eleven feet, that is to say, the Dwarf is one half shorter, and the Giant one half taller than the common height amongst men. Let us lay fable and the marvellous aside: look into the holy scripture for the height of Goliath, and of Og king of Bashan; let us measure them, and we shall find that Goliath was only nine feet four inches high, and * Og eleven feet.

Little.

* Og's bed, according to Scripture, was nine cubits long. A

Little men of five feet four or five inches high, have made the tour of the world; they have settled colonies, and waged war 4 or 5000 leagues from their native land. If there were countries and races of Giants, what voyages would not they have performed? what enterprises would they have not undertaken?

Augustus, says Suetonius, finding that few parents of distinguished birth were much inclined to present their daughters for being made Vestals, as they were under apprehensions for them on account of the dangerous and delicate + consequence of so long a continence, made a regulation, whereby the daughters of enfranchised persons were allowed to be admitted.

There were only six Vestals; we have thousands of convents for Girls: these convents, it will be said, are a great ease to families: the Romans had every whit as many children as we, but they did not behave with the same barbarity towards them.

The people and magistrates are in mourning; all the shops are shut up; profound silence and deep

cubit containing about a foot and a half, this bed was thirteen feet and a half in length; and a bed is always longer than the person it is made for.

† Such as were convicted of breaking their vow of virginity were buried alive.

deep consternation reign throughout Rome— and what is the reason? Has a bloody battle been lost? No— but one of the Vestals has broke her vows of chastity. What? because nature that was sacrificed has resumed her rights— because a girl has yielded to her own desires and to those of her lover, a whole Empire is alarmed; a whole Empire looks upon the amour as the presage of some fatal event! Men have at all times been ridiculous.

Some Roman Emperors declared that all the air of the Empire belonged to them, and that every man should, according to his ability, pay for permission to breath in it; this tax was called *aeris centiso*. Oxen are killed, but can it be supposed that the air they breathed was not their own?

Couriers are incessantly going backwards and forwards, and on certain fixed days in every week one may write not only to different parts of the Kingdom, but also into foreign countries, and receive answers very expeditiously. Will it be believed, that a regulation, so easy, useful, and agreeable, which costs so little, and yet produces such considerable sums to the Prince, was quite unknown to the Greeks and Romans; and that it was not till the year 1630. that it was thought of in France, whose example has been therein fol-

followed by all other nations? There were messengers indeed; but besides their slowness, and their being restricted entirely to the Kingdom, they did not set out till such time as they had collected a certain number of packets. In Gaul, as in the other provinces of the Empire, the Romans had established posts, at certain distances, upon the great roads, but these being entirely confined to the affairs of the state, the couriers never concerned themselves with private letters.

A Monk was the inventor of gun-powder; a * Bishop of bombs; and a Capuchin, named *Father Joseph*, who made himself so conspicuous, under the administration of cardinal *Richelieu*, first proposed spies to be employed by the Police, and also *Lettres de cachet*.

I one day kept up a very bold conversation. Some days after I received a pretty severe reprimand from a Minister who has always honoured me with his friendship: Excuse me for what I advanced, said I; I only urged it to such a man, and merely out of curiosity; for a long time and upon every occasion he exaggerates our losses, diminishes our advantages, and is perpetually talking against the government: I suspected he was a spy, and I wanted to be convinced.

A

* *Galen Bishop of Munster.*

A man who appeared easy in his affairs, fell in love, and married a young girl, who by the death of her parents, and necessity, had been driven into a bad course of life. At the end of some months, she found out that her husband was a spy from the Police : " Probably, said she to him, " you have not taken up this trade, till after you " had considered, that a man risks his life, in following that of a thief and an assassin." She went out, and threw herself from the *Pont-royal* into the *Seine*, where she was drowned.

The Emperor *Theodosius* made a law, whereby he condemned to death every man who appeared three times in the character of an Informer, even though his informations were not judged to be ill-grounded. This Prince doubtless thought that an infamous man had no right to live.

To attempt (says Henry IV.) the liberty of a Frenchman, by refusing to confront him with his accusers, is violating the first law of the state.

The King's glory is concerned, says Omer Talon, in our being freemen, and not slaves ; the dignity of his crown is proportioned to the quality of those who obey him.

The people think themselves free, when the King receives their petitions and reads them, or
at

at least makes his ministers believe that he reads them.

Joinville relates, that he has often seen *St. Lewis*, after having heard mass in the Summer, go and seat himself at the foot of an oak in the wood of Vincennes, when all those who had any business with this good Prince, came and spoke to him, without any usher, or other person preventing them.

The King should be loved as a public good: Every minister who exposes him to the loss of his people's affection, deserves death.

It is not taxes and imposts, but the abuse of superior orders, which characterises the Yoke, and renders it insupportable.

In England, if the Ministry causes any one to be arrested, they must release him in twenty four hours, or bring him to trial in six weeks.

Never had a Prince less the character of a King than *Lewis XI.* and his ministers were always the meanest of men. Was it through policy? He was always betrayed by them.

The most essential point for a minister is, that the people be persuaded of the magnanimity of his Soul.

The authority which the Prince entrusts us with, should inspire us with beneficence, and not with pride.

I am without arms and defenceless. A man armed *cap-a-pee*, with pistols in hand, insults me: What do you think of that man? The same as you should think of a minister who answers me in an abrupt manner, or with a slighting and scoffing tone of voice.

Formerly the *Financiers* were too much despised. The author of the Spirit of Laws asserts that the people in power pay them at present too much deference: *If respect, says he, is fixed to riches, all is lost.*

Riches are not the ordinary portion of the military man, the magistrates, the artisan, and the man of letters: those men must therefore be paid the deficiency, in civility and respect. The point of honour is animated and supported by respect, and in this point of honour is comprised the strength of our nation. "Forced by this," says an English author §, the character of the French nation, though inconsistent, is respectable: They have found, or rather invented, the art of uniting all extremes: They have virtues and vices, strengths and weaknesses, seemingly incompatible. They are effeminate, yet brave: insincere, yet honourable: hospitable, not benevolent: vain, yet subtle: splen-

§ *Brown's Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times.* Part 2. Sect. 6.

“splendid, not generous : warlike, yet polite :
 “plausible, not virtuous : mercantile, yet not
 “mean : in trifles serious, gay in enterprise :
 “women at the toilet, heroes in the field : pro-
 “fligate in heart ; in conduct decent : divided
 “in opinion, in action united : in manners
 “weak, but strong in principle : contemptible
 “in private life ; in public, formidable.” Ac-
 cording to this picture, the point of honour is
 with us a subtle method, whereby the effects
 of virtue are produced by vanity ; but could va-
 nity produce these effects amongst us, if gene-
 rosity, mildness, and beneficence, did not con-
 stitute the ground work of our character ?

We are not obliged to animate our soldiers to
 battle with strong liquors ; whereas the Duke of
 Marlborough at a time when Prince *Eugene*
 pressed him to an attack, replied to him, *I*
wait for the brandymen ; they will not be long a co-
ming.

A French soldier, who was fighting sword
 in hand with one of his comrades, received a
 mortal wound from him ; nevertheless, having
 still strength enough left to throw down his ad-
 versary and to disarm him, *Go*, said, he to him
I give thee what thou takest from me,— and died.
 France has given Kings, and great Kings too, to
 most parts of Europe. *Torquat*, or *Terculla*, a
 Lord

Lord of Brittany, who was possessed of a considerable Estate in Anjou, was father to *Ingelger*, a branch of the family of the *Plantagenets*, Counts of *Anjou*, who reigned for such at length of time in England.

Henry of Burgundy, from whom the Kings of Portugal are descended, and who was the founder of that Kingdom, was great grandson to *Hugh Capet*.

The *Courtenays* have been Emperors of Constantinople.

Charobert d'Anjou, great grandson to *St. Lewis*, was in possession of Hungary, Bosnia, and Servia. His son *Lewis*, surnamed the Great, joined to these dominions, Poland, Courland and Lithuania. They were both adored by their subjects.

Unhappy Kings and illustrious men that have been persecuted by their country, have from the earliest times chosen France for their asylum; because at all periods the French have had the reputation of being a mild, humane, and sympathising people.

A nation ought to esteem itself, and to be possessed of a certain pride, but this pride should be noble; it should render a people affable and condescending, whereas that of the Romans was arrogant. With what haughtiness did they speak

to the Kings their allies ! With what barbarity did they insult the misfortunes of those they had conquered ! Again, when I read that *Caligula* designs his horse for their consul, and that *Domitian* convenes the Senate to deliberate in what vase he shall boil a huge Turbot † which had been sent him, I acknowledge I feel a sensible pleasure in the shameful debasement they undergo.

Tacitus, speaking of the Germans our ancestors says [de Mor. Germ. cap. 15] *it is surprising to find in the same men so much relish for doing nothing, and such an antipathy to repose.* The same may be said of us ; and, consequently we are of the all the people in Europe, those who are most easily tired, and the most easily amused.

The Romans left their slaves and people of the lowest extraction to cultivate their lands, and go a hunting. The *Franks* who came from a barbarous country, ignorant of every other profession but that of arms, after having subdued Gaul appointed the conquered people to cultivate the lands, but reserved hunting to themselves, which then became a noble exercise, because it amused the savage idleness of the nobles, that is to say the conquerors.

M

Such

† Juvenal Sat. 4.

Such men and women, as were distinguished by their birth, always carried a hawk upon their wrist, when they travelled. A Frenchman was forbid by law †, when taken prisoner, to give for his ransom either his sword or hawk; but he might give up a hundred or two of the peasants belonging to his estate. †† The abbey of *St. Denis* being taken in 858 by the Normans, several Bondsmen of the abbey with their wives and children were paid as a ransom for it, and were doubtless carried into the north, where perhaps they embraced paganism, the religion of their new masters.

Cornelius de la Pierre, in his commentaries upon the holy scriptures, relates that a Monk maintained and preached that good game had been created for the Ecclesiastics; and that if partridges, pheasants, and ortolans could speak, they would cry out, *Servants † of God let us be eaten by you, that our substance being incorporated with yours, may one day rise into glory, and not go down into hell with that of the wicked.*

The duke de Longueville was told that the gentlemen in his neighbourhood were constantly hunting upon his grounds, and that he ought not to

† *Capitals. Baluz. V. p. 600.* †† *Annal. Bened. T. 3. l. 35, num. 33.*

‡ *Substantia nostra, caro nostra, incorporetur sanctis, ut in iis resurget ad gloriam, non in peccatoribus ad gebennam.*

to suffer it: *I had rather replied he have friends than hares.*

I am not sorry that the great Lords make themselves odious to the nobility and people, said Cardinal Richelieu to a man who had been relating to him the injuries the Prince of *** had done him by his hunting.*

Would not the fable of Acteon devoured by his dogs be a proper emblem of many great and little Lords ruined by their equipages and hunting?

We find in the sacred writings**, that it was not till after the deluge, in the year of the world 1656. that man begun to feed upon the flesh of animals. There still remain vast and very populous countries, where the killing of them is not looked upon as necessary, nor turned into a barbarous diversion: the people there live upon pulses, fruits and milk. We certainly endeavour to hide our cruelty from ourselves, by saying that if we did not destroy them, they would devour what should serve for nourishment to man.

The youth who follows his father to the
M 2 chace,

* The great Lords at that time often formed cabals in the state, and occasioned disturbances.

** Genesis Chap. 1. v. 29. and 30. and Chap. 9. v. 2. 3.

chace, and habituates himself to killing sensible and innocent beings, which were his sport and pastime in his infancy ; will he not also habituate himself dy degrees to less regard and gratitude towards those who have brought him up ?

The Juries in England are Judges chosen from amongst persons of every profession and trade: *Butchers* only are excluded : Why are sportsmen admitted, says *Newton* ?

I maintain there is not a man who does not some times say to himself, that he wished people would no longer feed upon the flesh and blood of animals. We continue to be carried away by custom, and a foolish notion that in that case we must give up the pleasure of regaling our friends, and of being regaled by them.

I have often heard ladies say, *We were walking in the forest, and without being fatigued with following the chace, we had the pleasure of coming in at the death of the stag* ; that is to say, they had the pleasure of seeing a creature killed, that was no longer able to support himself, and whose looks and tears should make us sensible of our brutality. The stag is mild and peaceable ; he does not lie in ambush in the depths of a forest, to commit crimes, the more we view him, the more we admire his elegant slender shape, and the nobleness

bleness of his mien : without disparaging man, he is a finer creature than he ; and has none of his wickedness.

The too long continued exercise which horses undergo thickens their shape : this is a proof that it increases the weight of the body, there are other exercises to strengthen it.

M. de Bouffanelle, captain of cavalry, in the regiment of Beauvilliers, relates in his Military Observations, printed at Paris in 1760, *that in the year 1757, an old horse of his company, that was very fine and full of mettle, had his teeth all on a sudden so worn down, that he could not chew his hay and corn, and that he was fed for two months, and would still have been so, had he been kept, by two horses on each side of him, that eat in the same manger : that these two horses drew hay from the rack, which they chewed, and afterwards threw before the old horse ; that they did the same with the oats, which they ground very small, and also put before him ; this, adds he, was observed and witnessed by a whole company of cavalry, officers and men.* When we find animals behave in this manner, can we kill them ? Can we think we have a right to do it ?

What should a man do with children in a wood, who perceives a tyger advancing ? A hen, when she has a young brood, is unacquainted

with danger, and flies in the face of the largest dog.

To adore the supreme Being, to marry and people the earth, according to the commandment, to succour one's neighbour, to plant fruit-trees, to till the ground, to kill no other than noxious insects, and carnivorous, ferocious, and venomous animals; such were the first principles of the wise and beautiful morals of the Magi.

The extravagancies of the human mind are sometimes so ridiculous, that it is difficult to credit them. In Egypt, when a cat dies, the master of the house shaves his left whisker, as a token of mourning. It is but 200 years since rats were prosecuted in France, with the same form and ceremony as men. The celebrated Chassineur, who was afterwards president of the parliament of Provence, being then only the king's advocate, in the bailiwick of Autun in Burgundy, pleaded the cause of the rats, against a sentence of excommunication pronounced against them by the bishop of Autun. *He remonstrated, says M. de Thou, that the time allowed them to appear in was too short, and moreover that it was dangerous for them to set out, as all the cats in the neighbouring villages were upon the scent to seize them.* He obtained a fresh summons for them, with a greater length of time for their appearance.

I be-

I believe, that after maturely considering the different Religions in the world, every man who has not had the good fortune to be enlightened by Christianity, would adopt the belief of a metempsychosis: thus we see it has always been, and still is, almost universally spread through Asia and Africa, and amongst the Savages in America; it was the ancient Creed of the Gauls and of all the northern people of Europe: its doctrines are simple, and natural, and contain nothing repugnant to reason. The felicities, or evils of the present state of existence; being the recompence or punishment of the actions we committed in a prior one, our wonder ceases, that some men and beasts enjoy an agreeable and pleasant life, whilst others seem born to suffer every species of misery.

All Religions are tolerated in the dominions of the Turks and Persians; they occasion no disturbances; because, tho' every one is allowed his own sentiments and opinions; any person who begins a dispute upon the religious tenets of another, is severely punished. Some Jews thought proper to urge in conversation, that they were the only people that should enter into Paradise. Where then shall we be, said some Turks, with whom they were speaking? The Jews not daring to aver openly that they would be excluded, told

them, they would be in the court-yards. The Grand Vizir having got intelligence of this dispute, sent for the chiefs of the Synagogue, and told them, that since they placed the Mussulmen in the court-yards of Paradise, it was but just they should furnish them with tents, that they might not be eternally exposed to the inclemency of the weather. From that time, it is said, the Jews, besides the usual tribute, pay a considerable sum for the tents of the Grand Signior, and all his household, when he goes to the army.

There were formerly frequent altercations amongst the Turks, concerning precedency between the military and the law. The Grand Signior, to reconcile these differences, declared, that from that time forward the left hand should be looked upon as the most honourable amongst military men, and the right hand amongst Lawyers; thus when these two bodies walk together, they both think they are in the place of honour. How often have we seen in the parliament of Paris and at court, trifling punctilios of ceremony and precedency, retard the expediting of the most important affairs.

Formerly, whoever was accused and convicted in Poland, of having eat meat in Lent, had his teeth drawn. A slanderer was condemned to go upon all-fours, and to bark for a quarter of an hour

hour like a dog. It is said our king, Charles V. introduced this punishment at court, and that some days nothing but barking was heard all the morning.

The ancient northern people believed, that a man could not appear in a favourable point of view before the Gods, unless he was covered with blood and death, and had arms in his hand.

Frequently in France and other christian countries, princes and great lords ordered by their will, that they should be buried in the habit of a monk, some chose that of a cordelier, and others that of a carmelite, or a jacobine.

A lady still in the flower of her youth, but who had made her will at all events, told me a secret, that she had therein ordered her body to be opened after her death, for no other reason than that she was afraid of being buried alive. Why are not dead bodies burnt? Methinks this manner of restoring them to the elements, is less shocking to the imagination than that which is practised.

Pleasure makes us forget we exist --- sorrow makes us feel it.

Justice is seldom done to great men till after their death; that is, we are very willing they should have been, but we cannot pardon them for existing at present.

There is one way to render men better : it is by inspiring them from their infancy with the greatest detestation possible for ingratitude, and by incessantly repeating to them the highest encomiums upon grateful persons. We are all born with beneficent souls ; besides our self-love is flattered, when others have recourse to our generosity, and we only deny ourselves the pleasure of obliging from the experience of the world, and from the fear we have of creating an ungrateful man : now we should be almost certain of never meeting with any such, if by education we had been accustomed to look upon ingratitude as an infamy equally dishonourable with that which is entailed upon a man who runs away in battle, or lets himself be insulted with a sword by his side. Gratitude is the source of many virtues ; it tends to form within us a humane and feeling heart ; it inspires us with a love for our country, and leads us to think of the tenderest ties in our attachments to our parents, our equals, our superiors and inferiors. Instead of entertaining a young prince with ideas of grandeur and power, tell him of the prayers which a million of men, over whom he is one day to reign, have been continually offering up for him from the moment of his birth ; teach him how barbarous it would be, to be insensible of their affection.

He

He will accustom himself to cherish his subjects ; and a king who loves his people is adored by them, and becomes formidable to his enemies.

The love of the people and the aversion of the courtiers form the elogium of a minister.

Opulence, said Mecenas to Augustus, proceeds rather from the curtailings of expence, than from a large income ; *Non tam multa recipiendo, quam non multos sumptus faciendo.*

D. du Breul, in his book upon the Antiquities of Paris, [p. 172.] says, *that over the door of the great chamber of Parliament, there is a lion cut in stone and gilt, with his legs bent and head stooping, to denote that he who enters into that chamber, let him be ever so great and rich, must humble himself, and submit to justice.*

The duke of Burgundy's army having encamped before Paris, a soldier belonging to the troops, whom Lewis XI. had sent for the defence of that capital, thought proper to say, that the Parisians were all Burgundians ; *as a satisfaction for which injury and contumely, he was arrested*, says Corrozet *, and made the *amende honorable* before the town-house, in his shirt, bare-headed, and with a lighted torch in his hand ; he had his tongue pierced afterwards with a red hot iron.

M 6

* Peter

* Antiquités de Paris, p. 145.

* Peter Mathieu relates that a gentleman of Normandy who went to confess to a cordelier, accused himself of having had an intention to kill Francis I; the cordelier gave this prince information thereof, and the gentleman was by an arret of Parliament, condemned to be beheaded, which sentence was executed accordingly.

Upon the spot, where the house of John Chatel the parricide stood, a pyramid was built with an inscription on each side of it against the Jesuits; Henry IV. in 1605 ordered this pyramid to be taken down; Miron, provost of the merchants, erected a fountain † in its place, on the top of which the two following lines were inscribed:

Hic ubi restabant sacri monumenta furoris.

Eluit infandum Mironis unda Scelus.

The emperor Adrian perceiving one of his slaves, in whom he reposed some confidence, gravely walking between two senators, sent a person to give him a box on the ear, and to tell him, *that he ought to respect those, whom he might one day serve as a slave and footman.* How many upstarts daily deserve boxes on the ear!

The

* Hist. de Henri IV. book v. p. 318.

† This fountain no longer subsists.

The courtier, the officer, and the magistrate are polite : the publican is known by his pride -- every state that is held in contempt is insolent.

Tacitus speaking of the Batavi*, says, that Rome still continues to testify the esteem in which she holds their alliance ; that she does not *load them with taxes, nor crush them with people in office ; that free from contributions and levies, they are solely designed for military service : we reserve them, adds he, like our arms, to employ them in the day of battle.* The French nobility were formerly considered in the same light : but things must necessarily change, when nobility may be purchased with money.

A man of quality ill treated a footman of Lewis XIV. this prince hearing a noise behind his coach, asked what was the matter ; *Nothing at all, replied the man of quality ; it is only two of your people fighting.* What a low, despicable answer ! This scandalous courtier deserved to have been degraded from his nobility.

What is at present called *a good house*, is one where a number of people, who are barely known to the master and mistress, repair at two o'clock and

* A colony of the *Catti*, which afterwards formed one of the tribes of the Franks.

and set themselves down to dinner : these *good houses*, which have so prodigiously increased the number of Parasites in Paris, would have appeared very ridiculous thirty or forty years ago. Every good citizen, who would keep a table, should consider that by contributing to augment the number of Parasites, he increases that of flatterers, lyars, low buffoons, propagators of false reports, and inventors of news : for there is not one of these dinner-seekers, who does not begin as soon as he enters, with *I have just heard a piece of news*. It is shameful for men of letters, that many of them can be named, who from the beginning of the year to the end of it, do not live a single day at their own expence ; and this perhaps, is one of the causes of the scarcity of good books. A Parasite must have a very pliable disposition ; now a very pliable disposition excludes an elevation of heart and sentiment, and borders strongly upon the scoundrel. In the reign of Lewis XIV. military people lived with military people, the man of letters with the man of letters, and the artist with the artist ; they went to the tavern, they talked of their respective professions, they gained instruction one from another, and the decent freedom, gaiety, and liberty which reigned at these repasts, maintained a certain dignity

nity and vigour of soul, from which we seem every day to degenerate.

* At the siege of Maestricht, in 1673, an officer of the regiment of Picardy, having fallen down as he was going up to the attack of the half-moon, a soldier held out his hand to lift him up, and at that instant received a musket-shot, which went through his palm; without saying a word, or seeming in the least disconcerted, he presented the officer his other hand, and raised him up.

In the book of Kings we read, “ that all the
“ people of Hrael eat and drank of the fruit of
“ their hands, each under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and were in great joy.” This fine picture would have been that of France, if Henry IV. had lived ten years longer; that good prince had promised it to himself.

A taste of agriculture is now generally spread thro’ our provinces, and we have reason to expect the happiest effects from it, particularly since the ministry is resolved to employ every possible means to encourage it. The Peasant will be no longer harrassed with unprofitable toil, under pretence of making or repairing the highways. Instead of
fearing

* Lettres de Pellisson, vol. i. p. 382.

fearing, if he should improve his land, that his taxes will be increased, he will be invited to industry by prospect of small premiums ; certain of gaining the price of his labour, and of having a sufficiency to maintain and bring up his children, 'till they are at an age to assist him, he will be no longer under apprehensions of adding to their number. The workmen in the country, meeting with constant employment there, will no longer fill our cities with beggars : industry, population, and plenty, which is their attendant, will increase, and we shall see before the end of this century, that the thirtieth part of those lands, which remained uncultivated, will have become valuable.

Mendicant Monks are prejudicial to a nation, in as much as they diminish the shame of begging in the minds of the people. It is certain, that there is an infinitely greater number of beggars in Catholic countries than in any other.

In 1508, * Lewis XII. in order to re-establish his maritime force, demanded ships from the principal cities of the kingdom : the city of Paris, of whom he asked one of 400 tons, desired to be excused for one of 200 tons ; that is, a ship of 10 or 12 guns : two years ago the city of Paris, without being asked, presented the king with a ship of 80 guns.

A

* Hist. de Paris, tom. ii. p. 907.

A noble soul becomes untractable in adversity, whereas good fortune renders it gentle and generous.

One should endeavour to write with clearness and precision, that a reader of the most moderate capacity may fancy his author only recalls to his mind what he had thought of before.

Aucun amant qui ne servit son Roi :
Aucun guerrier qui ne servit sa Dame.

These two lines of St. Evremont have always charmed me : they paint a Frenchman such as he was.



LETTER

A LETTER from the President Henault to Mons. de la Place, Author of the French Mercury.

S I R,

“ I Received yesterday by the Penny-post,
 “ a packet marked B, with the date of the
 “ month. I opened it in the presence of several
 “ gentlemen that did me the honour to dine with
 “ me, and found, with surprize and gratitude,
 “ that it contained an answer to that article in
 “ your Mercury, wherein Mr. de Saintfoix op-
 “ poses what I had advanced * concerning the
 “ equestrian statue of Philip the Fair. It was
 “ not till after mature deliberation that I engaged
 “ in that controversy, as I was well aware it had
 “ been frequently agitated; and it would have
 “ given me particular pleasure to have replied to
 “ Mr. de Saintfoix, who has deserved so well of
 “ the public, if he had done me the honour to
 “ address me personally: but as he has taken a
 “ different method, I judge it prudent to avoid a
 “ literary quarrel, and therefore leave the whole
 “ to the determination of those that shall peruse
 “ the inclosed. It is not I that speak now; it is
 “ an

* See p. 116, &c. of this vol.

“ an anonymous writer, who to the generosity of
 “ defending me, adds the concealing of his name,
 “ a circumstance which I can’t but lament, as I
 “ am thereby prevented from testifying my ac-
 “ knowledgments. The Dissertation appears to
 “ me to be so very masterly, that I have not he-
 “ sitated a moment to transmit it to you. This
 “ may be a means perhaps of finding out the se-
 “ cret of my protector ; and I the more earnestly
 “ request him to declare himself, as his doing so
 “ will save me from an imputation, which is fre-
 “ quently but too well grounded, of having bor-
 “ rowed this mode of defence, in order to con-
 “ ceal myself. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ HENAUULT.”

P. S. I send you the packet just as I received it.

S I R,

“ YOU have doubtless read in the Mercury
 “ for January (vol. i. p. 73) a small Dis-
 “ sertation of Mr. de Saintfoix, wherein he says
 “ you are mistaken, in fancying the equestrian
 “ statue in the church of Notre Dame, to be
 “ that of Philip the Fair : but I take the liberty
 “ to advise you not to be too hasty in receding
 “ from that opinion. You will find your senti-
 “ ments

“ ments well supported in an excellent disquisition, to be met with in a *Journey to Munster*, which was wrote by the celebrated Claude Joly, who died in 1700, and was Grand Chanter and official of the church of Paris. The *Journey* I speak of was printed at Paris in 1670, in *duodecimo*.” The author, equally respectable for his learning and piety, has given the public many valuable works, and attended Madame de Longueville in 1646 to Munster, where her husband was employed in negotiating the treaty of Westphalia.

Mr. Joly, after his return, gave an account of the places through which he had passed, and of the several curiosities he had observed. On the subject of Bouvines, where Philip Augustus obtained a victory by the intercession of the Virgin, he introduces the battles of Mons en Puelle and Cassell, where Philip the Fair and Philip de Valois, by the same intercession, obtained a victory over the Flemings. He gives an ample discussion of the question concerning the equestrian statue, in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, which he does in a sensible and solid manner, like a man that has no particular partiality to one opinion more than to another; and at last concludes with looking upon the equestrian statue as that of Philip the Fair. If you add to the reading of the
Dis-

Dissertation by Mr. Joly, three Letters of Mr. Jouet, Canon of Chartres, who at the request of his friend Joly, had searched the archives of his chapter, to throw light on this passage of history, I persuade myself you will not think of retracting, as you will then see that the Dissertation of Mr. de Saintfoix is nothing less than a demonstration of what he advances after several of our authors. These letters of Mr. Jouet are printed at the end of the *Journey to Munster*. I shall not enter into the detail of what is contained in these papers, where we find an answer ready to the objections that have been proposed to you, as also to those concerning the lessons in the ancient Breviary of Paris. It would be necessary to transcribe almost the whole of Mr. Joly's Dissertation, as well as the Letters of Mr. Jouet; but it is better you should have the pleasure of reading them yourself. What will divert you, perhaps, is the different manner in which Mr. Joly has read the authorities that are objected to you; I mean the great Chronicles of France, and the continuation of Nangis. Mr. de Saintfoix reads in the Chronicles which he quotes, *that it was into the church of Notre Dame at Paris, that Philip de Valois entered, mounted upon his steed*; and Mr. Joly says, that in the authentic manuscript, which he had of those Chronicles, it was expressly written, that Philip de Valois,

Valois, after placing the standard on the altar of St. Denis, *went from thence to Notre Dame of Chartres; and that when he got there, he put on the same armour which he had wore in the battle against the Flemings, then mounted his steed, and so entered the church very devoutly.* It is the same in Nangis's continuation M. de Saintfoix reads *Rex verò [Philippus Valesius] --- postea IVIT PARISIOS & ecclesiam Beatæ Mariæ ingressus, &c.* But M. Joly, according to a MS. of St. Germain des Prez, reads *postea INIIT CARNOTUM & ecclesiam Beatæ Mariæ ingressus*; and we find it, in fact, written in the same manner in the quarto and folio editions of the Spicilegium, wherein is Nangis's continuation. We do not there find *ivit Parisios*, but *ivit carnotum*. Hence, Sir, we must conclude, that M. de Saintfoix has read the same works differently from Mr. Joly, which proves that there are variations in the manuscripts: nothing however is to be concluded therefrom against your opinion, till such time as it is ascertained which is the genuine text, it is proper to abide by. I am persuaded, if M. de Saintfoix had read Mr. Joly's Dissertations, he is a man of too much spirit to have let our great king Philip the Fair so shamefully dismount from his horse, and to insist upon the gentlemen of the chapter of Notre Dame at Paris changing the Inscription they

they have caused to be put upon the equestrian statue ; which last they assuredly will not do, as they have seen the work of their ancient brother.

I imagined, Sir, that though you have read a great deal, you might be unacquainted with Mr. Joly's Dissertation, which one would not think of finding in a *Journey to Munster*. You will give me leave to omit subscribing my name to these Reflexions, which are not worth while ; besides the name does nothing to the fact ; but they are from one of your servants, who for a long time has had the honour of being very respectfully devoted to you.

MR. DE SAINTFOIX'S ANSWER.

“ I WAS ignorant that a new inscription had
 “ been put under the equestrian statue at No-
 “ tre Dame : it is only a year ago that I learnt
 “ it from a pamphlet, wherein I was severely
 “ taken to task, for having said in my Historical
 “ Essays, that this statue represented Philip de
 “ Valois. The author of the pamphlet, struck
 “ with admiration of the president Henault, did
 “ not unite with this merit the merit of being
 “ polite, so that I never once thought of answer-
 “ ing him ; but in making corrections and addi-
 “ tions to my Historical Essays, I was willing to
 see

“ see whether I had been mistaken. My Dis-
 “ sertation appeared in the first volume of the
 “ Mercury for January last, and here is a new
 “ anonymous writer who attacks me : he mixes
 “ erudition with the salt of fine raillery, and I
 “ doubt not but the company that dined with the
 “ president Henault, laughed very heartily, when
 “ he said, *that he takes me for a man of too much*
 “ *spirit to want our great king, Philip the Fair,*
 “ *so shamefully to dismount from his horse.* I was
 “ unacquainted with the *Journey to Munster* ; I
 “ have sought for it and found it, I have read it,
 “ and I protest, wish I could say I was mistaken :
 “ my indolence would thereby have been flat-
 “ tered ; but Claude Joli’s reasonings only serve
 “ to confirm me in the opinion I had before em-
 “ braced. It is necessary to reconsider the state
 “ of the question, and the reader may assure him-
 “ self that I am going to examine it with the ut-
 “ most impartiality.”

Philip the Fair, in remembrance of the vic-
 tory, which he gained over the Flemings, at
 Mons in Puelle, August 18, 1304, made several
 endowments at Notre Dame of Paris, at Notre
 Dame of Chartres, and other churches : but nei-
 ther in these acts of endowment, nor in any an-
 cient breviary, nor in any history of that time, is
 it said, that he entered the church of Notre Dame
 of

of Paris on horseback, and that he there made an offering of his arms and horse to the Virgin. Moreover, there neither are nor ever were any proofs of this in the papers, cartularies, registers, nor archives of Notre Dame.

After having mentioned the victory which Philip de Valois gained over the Flemings at Cassel, August 23d, 1328, the different Manuscripts of the great Chronicles of St. Denis, and all the ancient * editions of those Chronicles say, "that Philip de Valois came to St. Denis, and presented upon the altar the standard which he had taken, when he set out to oppose the Flemings; and that he afterwards went to Notre Dame at Paris; and being arrived there, had himself armed with the arms which he had wore in the battle against the Flemings; and that then he mounted his steed, and so entered the church of Notre Dame, where he devoutly thanked the Virgin, and presented her with the horse on which he was mounted, and all his armour."

What then is the point in dispute, it will be asked? It is this: They say, that in different manuscripts of the great Chronicles of St. Denis, we find that *Philip de Valois went to Notre Dame of Paris, and entered the church mounted upon his horse, &c.* we read in other manuscripts of the same Chronicles, that he went to Notre Dame of Chartres, and there entered mounted upon his

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horse,

* The editions of 1493, 1517, and others.

horse, &c. and they add that in Nangis's continuation it is equally expressed *inūt Parisios* or *inūt Carnotum*, because *Parisios* or *Carnotum* are various readings; and thence they conclude, that Philip de Valois not having entered into the Church at Paris on horseback, but into that of Chartres, it is not his statue which we see in the church at Paris, but that of Philip the Fair.

The great Chronicles of St. Denis, after having given a long account of the battle of Mons in Puelle, say only, *that Philip the Fair returned to Paris near St. Denis with exceeding great joy.* The Continuator of William de Nangis, after having talked of the revenues which that prince bequeathed to some churches, and to that of Paris, in remembrance of this victory, says not a word of the cavalcade in that church. Is it natural to think, that these historians would have passed over this circumstance in silence, in an article relating to this prince, and to the legacies he left? Is it natural that in the sequel, when they speak of Philip de Valois entering on horseback the church of Paris, or, if they will, of Chartres, they should omit adding, *as did Philip the Fair, after his victory at Mons in Puelle?* Does not this objection amount to conviction? Is it not necessary, in order to remove it, to offer some authentic proof that Philip the Fair entered the church of Paris on horseback? Now, neither Claude Joly, nor any others have ever yet produced any such voucher; where-

whereas in a MS. which appears to have been written in the year 1360, marked H, N^o. 22, making part of the manuscripts which the Chapter of Notre Dame presented to the king, it is said, "That Philip de Valois, after the battle of Cassel, in the year 1328, entered compleatly armed into the church of Notre Dame of Paris, - - and that his effigy is placed upon two pillars before the image of the said Lady in the nave of the said church." Let us now examine the Letter of Claude Joli; Paulus Emilius, says he, "attributes the statue in question to Philip the Fair, and Paulus Emilius being a Canon of Notre Dame of Paris, it is likely, that he would not have ascribed to that prince so public and solemn an act, if he had not been well assured of it, either by some authentic record, or by some tradition which was then looked upon as certain and indisputable amongst his fraternity."

Answer. In the reign of Henry II. on the side of this statue verses and an inscription were affixed, the latter of which has subsisted for upwards of a hundred years, whereby we are informed that this was the statue of Philip de Valois. The greater part of the Canons who were cotemporary brethren with Paulus Emilius, were then still living, and is it reasonable to believe, that they would not have opposed the placing of this inscription, and that they would have approved of

it, if it had contradicted what was written in their archives?

“It is upon the testimony of Nicholas Gilles, says Claude Joli, that when the Lessons which mention this victory, were first placed in the breviaries of Paris, not only the entrance on horseback into the church of Paris, was attributed to Philip de Valois, but also the victory, and the foundation of the feast of the year 1304, though he was not upon the throne till twenty-four years after.”

Answer. In several manuscripts of the great Chronicles of St. Denis, long before Nicholas Gilles, and in all the ancient editions of these Chronicles, it is said, that Philip de Valois entered on horseback into the cathedral of Paris: it is upon these authorities, that in the breviaries, this solemn action is attributed to this prince. Claude Joli was not ignorant of it, and he is therefore in the wrong to say, that this opinion is founded only upon the testimony of Nicholas Gilles. Moreover, the breviaries neither confound the two kings, nor the two victories; it is said, in *Ecclésiâ Parisiensi, propter commemorationem victoriæ Philippi Pulchri, fit duplum*; and after the Lessons and staves upon the Virgin, it is also said, *Philippus Valesius, cum insignem victoriam de re-bellibus Flandris obtinisset, quæ contigit anno 1328, &c.* Here the two victories, and the two kings are equally distinguished; Philip the Fair had

had made an endowment ; Philip de Valois had presented an offering, which he bought back for a considerable sum, as I shall prove in the sequel ; besides he had caused a monument of his victory, and of his gratitude towards the Virgin to be erected. The church of Paris commemorated those two memorable battles, which were both obtained during the octave of the assumption.

Claude Joli says, " It is necessary to observe farther, that in the breviaries of Paris there are no Lessons introduced respecting this, before the edition of the year 1584 ; for, adds he, there are none of the preceding editions of the years 1479 and 1492, which mention this affair."

Answer. The history of Paulus Emilius was printed in 1544, forty years after (in 1584) when the Chapter of Notre Dame thought proper to place in the breviaries the Lessons in question, is it not likely that they would have adopted the opinion of Paulus Emilius their brother, if they had not discovered by the archives, that it was not to be supported ? To this I add, that at that time, some writing every day appeared which treated of the ancient rights of our kings to Flanders, and that even the united provinces offered in that same year (1584) to put themselves under their dominion. Perhaps the Chapter of Notre Dame, paying attention to these circumstances, thought proper to join to the commemoration of

the victory of Philip the Fair, that of the victory of Philip de Valois: at that time Prayers and Lessons much less suitable, were introduced into the Breviaries and Rituals.

Claude Joli says, "that Mr. de Sponde, Bishop of Pamiers asserts, that those who have attributed the statue in question to Philip the Fair, have been confuted by several persons, and even by the ancient monastic registers of the church of Paris, the archives of which they must not have seen; but, adds Claudius Joli, what archives is Mr. de Sponde speaking of, since there are no other than the endowment of Philip the Fair, and the ancient breviaries of that church, which all bear the name of Philip the Fair, without making mention in any manner of Philip de Valois; which archives, Paulus Emilius might have seen, but which Nicholas Gilles, and those of his opinion had never seen, since what he writes upon that subject is quite contradictory to them."

Answer. Far from producing us any authentic piece, wherein it is said that Philip the Fair entered on horseback into the church of Notre Dame, and that it is his statue which we see there; Claude Joli agrees that Paulus Emilius had no other proofs than the endowment of 100 livres, and what is mentioned in the old breviaries; now, by Claude Joli's own acknowledgment, there is not a word said concerning it in the

the act of endowment for this tent, and the old breviaries say only, *in ecclesiâ Parisiensi, propter commemorationem victoriæ Philippi Pulchri, fit duplum*. Here father Texera and M. de Sponde, who had the inspection of the archives of Notre Dame, as Claude Joli allows, were they, I say, in the wrong to reject such evidences? Is it not extraordinary to say, that if Nicholas Gilles had seen them, they would have altered his opinion? Moreover M. de Sponde says, *that those who attribute the statue in question to Philip the Fair, are confuted by the ancient monastic registers of the church of Paris*: will it be said that these ancient monastic registers never existed, and that M. de Sponde never saw any of them?

Some Priests of the Oratory have continued the particular history of the church of Paris; they had the inspection of the archives, the register of benefactors, and all the titles of that cathedral; they had read the Dissertation of Claude Joli, and the Letters of his friend M. Jouet. These historians in their folio work, dedicated to Cardinal Noailles, and printed in 1710, say, (Book xviii. ch. iii. p. 615.) *that it is not to be doubted, that the statue in question is that of Philip de Valois, and that no king before him ever entered the church of Notre Dame on horseback*; and they have read, as well as myself, in the continuation of William de Nangis which they quote, *init Parisios*; so that the anonymous author who writes to the president He-

Henault, and who so politely says, *what will divert you*, must find these Priests of the Oratory extremely diverting.

Claude Joli, who endeavours to catch at authorities, quotes the annals of Malingre, though he was not ignorant that Malingre, in his antiquities of Paris (p. 10.) had retracted, and that he says, *the statue in question represents Philip de Valois*. Thevet is of the same opinion; but this does not prevent Claudius Joli from quoting him in his favour.

I might adduce an authority from the medal which we find in the work, entitled *la France Metallique*, and thence evince the falsity of Claudius Joli's reasoning; but as I only seek for truth, and employ nothing else, I acknowledge that medal to be spurious: it must be believed however that the author of *la France Metallique*, to have imagined such a medal must have gone to Notre Dame at Paris, and copied with great exactness the statue in question.

Let us now consider the Letters of Mr. Jouet. He says, that Philip the Fair, in commemoration of the victory at Mons in Puelle, gave an endowment to the church of Chartres, as well as to that of Paris, of 100 livres revenue; that in consequence thereof, there is at Chartres an annual celebration, on the 17th of August, of the office of *Notre Dame de la victoire* (our Lady of the victory;) and that on this day, a very rich suit
of

of armour, but which would only fit a boy of 13 or 14 years old is taken out of the treasury, and exposed to public view. He runs into a long dissertation upon this suit of armour, and asserts that Philip the Fair sent his son Charles to make an offering of it to *Notre Dame* of Chartres; but he does not consider, that this son Charles was only nine years old when the battle of Mons in Puelle was fought; that he was not present at that battle; that they were not his arms, but those of his father, which he would have been appointed to make an offering of; that it is not to be doubted, that the sword and belt are ornamented with dolphins, and that these arms are therefore much posterior to the reign of Philip the Fair, Dauphiny not having been united to the crown till the year 1349; that in short, this is the armour which Charles VI, who for a long time was called the little king, sent as an offering to *Notre Dame* of Chartres, after having beat the Flemings at Rosebeque in 1482; this prince was then only 14 years of age. It will be asked, why is this suit of armour exhibited on the day on which the victory at Mons in Puelle is celebrated? Because probably, in a series of time, it was forgot from whom it came, and was thought to be an offering of Philip the Fair; it is natural to think more of those who make endowments than of any others. What is most certain is, that in the act of endowment of 100 livres revenue, and in the
archives

archives of the church of Chartres, no mention whatever is made of this armour, nor of any offering of Philip the Fair; he made, I say again, endowments at Paris, Chartres, and other churches, in remembrance of this victory, but he never offered there either his arms, or his horse.

Mr. Jouet afterwards produces an authentic piece, taken from the archives of the church of Chartres, wherein it is said, “ That the chapter
“ being assembled, resolved, that the sum of a
“ thousand livres, which the king (Philip de Valois) has given for the re-purchasing of his
“ horse and arms, which he had himself presented
“ to the Virgin, shall be employed in procuring
“ funds or revenues for the said church of Chartres.” This confirms what I have always thought and said, and what M. Souchet, secretary to the Canon of the Chapter of Chartres, wrote above a hundred years ago, in his manuscript history of this Chapter and City. Philip de Valois went immediately to Notre Dame of Paris, where he offered to the Virgin his arms and horse which he re-purchased for the sum of 1000 livres: he afterwards repaired to Chartres, where he performed precisely the same ceremony. This was an ancient custom: In a transaction of the year 1329, between the Curates of Paris and St. Sepulchre’s church, it is said, “ That a dying person shall
“ be at liberty to chuse being buried in that
“ church, but that his body shall be first carried
“ to

“ to the church of the parish in which he dies,
 “ and the Curate of that parish shall be entitled
 “ to half of the lights, and also to one half of
 “ what shall arise from the cloaths and horses
 “ (ex pannis & equis) that shall be presented, at
 “ his interment in St. Sepulchre’s church.” At
 the service performed at St. Dennis in 1489, for
 Betrand Duguesclin, by order of Charles VI.
 “ The Bishop who celebrated mass, received the
 “ present of the horses which were presented as
 “ an offering, by placing his hand upon their
 “ heads; they were afterwards led back, but a
 “ composition was agreed upon for the right of
 “ the abbey, to which they had devolved.”

In 1329, Peter de Cugneres, the king’s counsel
 in parliament, pleaded against the usurpations of
 the Ecclesiastics in matters of temporal justice.
 The judgment of Philip de Valois appeared fa-
 vourable to the Clergy, who endeavoured to tes-
 tify their gratitude to him, by honours and titles;
 they gave him the appellation of *Catholic-King*;
 and as the victory of Cassel, and the solemn act
 that prince had done at Paris and Chartres, were
 still recent; I am inclinable to believe, that it
 was at this period, that each of those two church-
 es erected an equestrian statue to his memory.
 What is very certain, is that the church of Sens*,
 erected

* Peter du Roger, archbishop of Sens, spoke for the Eccle-
 siastics, and devised this testimony of their gratitude towards
 Philip de Valois, to supply the tythes which that prince
 hoped to receive from the clergy.

erected a statue to him at that time, *like that* (says du Breul, p. 21.) *of this king in our church of Paris*; beneath which statue at Sens two lines are inscribed, wherein he receives the title of Defender of the Rights of the Church.

The author of the Treatise upon the ancient offensive and defensive Arms of the French, printed at Blaise, in 1635, says, p. 113. "That Philip the Fair, having fixed the seat of Parliament, the knights who there presided, in order to distinguish themselves from the lawyers, had caps made in the shape of their helmets, and that this is the origin of the Mortiers, from whence the presidents, à Mortier, take their name:" for it was not, he adds, till the reign of Philip the Long, that casques were invented of a conic form, spreading as they came down upon the shoulders like an inverted top, such as we see upon Philip de Valois in Notre Dame at Paris: it was imagined this would remove the inconvenience arising from the flatness of helmets, upon which a well aimed blow with a club, must have cleaved the skull of him who wore it: but these helmets were afterwards found so heavy, that an alteration was again made in them.

End of the Second VOLUME.



